THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 112, NO. 9 NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1945 NUMBER 1578

Military Review

WHILE THE HEADLINES were shouting the news of attacks on Iwo and Corregidor, the decisive battles of the Nazi counter-attack were beginning by February 19 in eastern Germany. Dispatches from Moscow reported "vast quantities" of men and equipment moving up on all the roads leading to the front where Marshals Konev and Zhukov were joining hands; and for the first time since the big drive began, the Soviet communiqués spoke of repelling counter-attacks—on the northern flank, in the region between Stargard and the Oder.

With forces of the size engaged there, the issue was not likely to be decided rapidly, but it was already clear that the battle itself would take place on far other terms than the Germans had hoped. Geographically, they quite plainly wished to hold the line of the middle Oder, with bridgeheads to the east bank and Breslau as the southward anchor of the position, to attack Zhukov's left flank. It was to this region that they first sent reinforcements and it was in this region that the first check to the Russian push was announced.

That this German hope has been proved illusory is less significant than the fact that both sides report Konev encountering Volkssturm formations in his further advance toward the Neisse. The Russian has been able to get large forces of infantry up across the gap of more than 200 miles of newly occupied territory separating him from his base—large enough forces to have demolished the formations defending the line of the middle Oder. More important still, he has been able to get up supplies of gasoline and munitions (he has been using armor with a freedom that indicates no difficulty whatever on this score), which marks a considerable improvement in the logistic services of the Russian army since the days when Tsarist regiments marched weaponless to the front to pick up rifles dropped by dead men.

The Soviet ability to solve supply problems for large masses over long distances is one of the most discouraging factors confronting the Nazis. It is something on which they cannot have reckoned. But it is not more ominous for the Germans than what has been taking place within the structure of their own army. The week was marked by the announcement of prisoners captured on a scale not seen since Stalingrad and Bizerte. Many of these, to be sure, were taken at Budapest, where the captures have no significance beyond a demonstration of the platitude that a big siege usually ends in mass surrenders. But enough more of them came in other areas to give Hitler, Himmler and Company, the cold shivers. When groups of 2,000, 5,000, 8,000 surrender together, the structure is cracking.

Presumably the fresh troops pouring in from the west and from the general reserve are more trustworthy and they may restore matters, as fresh German troops did after Stalingrad. But the trouble with such a situation from a general's point of view is that he never knows what troops he can rely upon for a given operation. Meanwhile, there is evidence that the western front is being depleted by the reliable for-

CONTENTS

The Week 275

Editorials

The Crimean Charter 278
Roosevelt and de Gaulle 280

General Articles

Catholics and Latin America . . . . . Samuel Guy Inman 281
Isolationism or Bretton Woods . . . . . Alvin H. Hansen 284
World Labor and the AFL . . Heinz Eulau 286
The Great Vitamin Scare . . . . . R. M. Cunningham Jr. 287
Georgia Kills the Poll Tax . Clark Foreman 291
Home for Keeps . . . . . Joe Fromm 292
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 294
Life Is a Dream . . . . . Stark Young 295
Crime Does Pay . . . . . Manny Farber 296
Radio Revisited . . . . . Listener 296
The Bandwagon 298

Correspondence 299

Books in Review

The Death of Liberalism . Granville Hicks 301
Toward Peace in Asia . . Richard Watts Jr. 302
By Their Own Bootstraps . A. G. Mezerik 305
Professor Cohen's Logic . Henry David Aiken 306
Way Down . . . . . Richard Match 308
A Reader's List 309

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

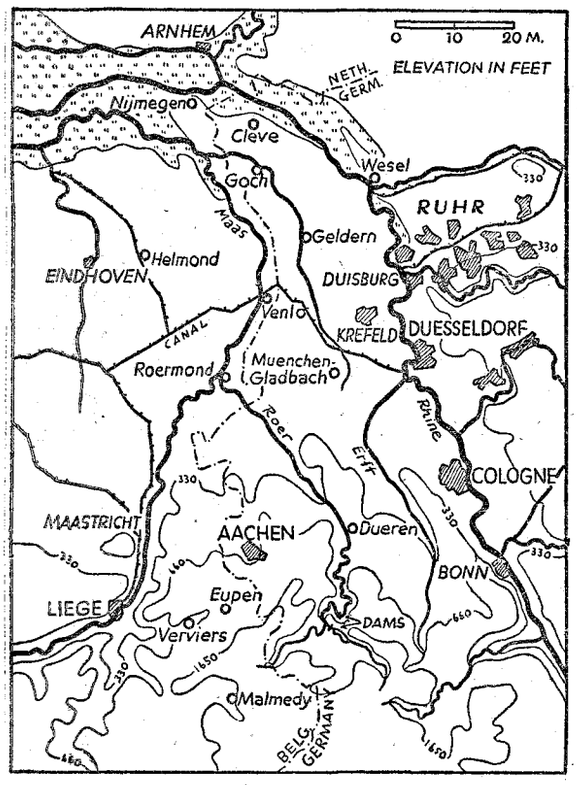
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mations sent east. One of the most curious notes of the week was struck by the announcement from the Canadian area that the Germans had reinforced with "elements of seven divisions."

Now there is simply not physical room on that front for very many elements of seven divisions, and the presence of these does not seem to have made much difference to the Canadians, who kept on at about the same pace as before the reinforcements came in. These elements, then, can only represent fragments of formations battered to pieces in the reduction of the Belgian bulge or in Alsace, probably hastily returned to the front from rest areas. This does not mean that the Germans have reached the stage where they lack the means to carry on the war; but it does mean that more sacrifices on their part are probably inevitable. General Clark indicated an area in which such sacrifices might be made when he spoke of their withdrawal from Italy as on the cards—a statement in which one would have more confidence if Clark had not been so frequently wrong in the past.

An idea of the importance attached to the fleet's attack on Tokyo by Pacific headquarters can be gained from the fact that it was entrusted to Spruance, the long-headed tactician, rather than to Halsey, the fighter. This is not to suggest that Halsey or the men around him are lacking in brains, but that the operation itself is so bold that no further boldness in execution was needed, but rather the touch of delicacy that Spruance could furnish. What its strategic effects will be are not yet clear; but at least it should furnish a nail for the coffin of the extreme air-power advocates. In 1942 they foresaw land-based planes driving warships even from the oceans; in 1945 planes from carriers are driving air power from the land.



The Middle Rhine Complex

The advance of the Canadians around Cleve and Goch is in some ways the most dangerous threat the western front has offered to Germany since last summer. There are many areas of fortification still before the Americans to the south; in the north, the Canadians are at the very edge of a plains country where armor can be used extensively at a time when the Nazis need all their own armor in the east. Moreover, beyond this plains country lies the Ruhr, which, however battered, is now doubly important to the Nazis with the loss of the Silesian industries.

The Mexico City Conference

The Inter-American Conference on Problems of Peace and War, which has just met in Mexico City, will once again offer a challenge to United States foreign policy. Over the last weekend, it looked as though Argentina intended to do everything possible to get herself included in the conference; her sharp note to Germany was accompanied by orders to Argentine ships to make for the nearest port, an action usually preliminary to declaring war. Whether she does or does not get invited to the conference, the United States will be forced to answer some pointed questions. Why do we break relations with Argentina over her support of Germany, and continue relations with Franco, who is a far worse offender? Why did we threaten Argentina with economic sanctions before finding out that Great Britain would not participate in such sanctions? Do we propose to help Latin America, which now sends us 80 percent of all her exports, when the end of the war suddenly destroys the greater part of this trade? While it will not come up officially, many of the Latin Americans present will certainly want to know why we continue the extraordinary practices described by Dr. S. G. Inman in this issue of the *New Republic*. The American delegation will have to be candid and courageous, if we are to come out of the conference without lowered prestige.

Mobilizing Manpower

The CIO, the AFL, the NAM, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Farmers' Union have now lined up together behind an alternative proposal to the May-Bailey bill for manpower mobilization. These six powerful groups are supporting the Kilgore-Wagner-Ferguson bill, which they say offers a comprehensive approach to the whole manpower problem rather than simple punitive measures applied only to a limited part of the working force. The administration of the new act is placed in the War Manpower Commission, but the sponsors of the bill point out that it "in no way impairs the authority of the Selective Service Administration to draft into the army men of military age who are not engaged in essential employment."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor believes that in this new bill it has a positive answer to current problems. Among other things, it would safeguard seniority rights, which are being tossed aside under present methods, and it would strengthen existing labor-utilization machinery, as well as the over-all position of the War Manpower Commission in scheduling operations. Unlike the May-Bailey compulsory bill, labor says, the Wagner-Kilgore measure is in the direction of preparing for the transition to reconversion whenever it is ordered.

The difference between these two bills is fundamental: one relies solely on "compulsion"; the other recognizes that emergency machinery for compulsion may be necessary but properly places primary emphasis on positive plans for improving war-mobilization techniques instead.

More about Private Weber

Private Henry Weber, the soldier who refused to drill, whose case was commented on here last week, has had his sentence further reduced from life imprisonment to five years at hard labor. Walter Winchell, among others, pointed out that in a case similar to Weber's the objector had been sentenced to only three years in jail. Winchell was quite right in adding that "strange arithmetic" was involved. It is debatable whether Weber should be punished at all, since it is by no means clear that he should have been taken into the army in the first place. It is to be hoped that the publicity evoked by the case will focus attention on the ambiguous treatment of conscientious objectors. Apparently one has to be a member of a recognized religious group to be credited with a "conscience."

Congress and Henry Wallace

Now that the George bill, removing the loan agencies from the Department of Commerce, has been passed by both Houses of Congress, it is practically certain that the Senate will confirm the nomination of Henry Wallace when it comes up March 1. Wallace's Senate managers report that the former Vice President is gaining supporters every day. And that is the best news the Wallace partisans have received since the nomination went to the Senate.

The test vote in the House came on a motion to recommit the George bill to committee. The Republicans were trying to prevent passage of this bill which the Senate had demanded as a prerequisite to confirming Wallace. Both Republicans and Democrats made it a test of party regularity. By diligent effort, Speaker Sam Rayburn saved the day for Wallace by going to work on the Unholy Alliance Democrats-who in the last Congress repeatedly gave the victory to the Republicans by voting with them in such tests as this. They lost by 196 to 204. Twenty-two Democrats joined with the Republicans, almost all of them Southerners.

The narrow margin by which the George bill was pulled through the House is evidence of how far we still have to go in cleaning up Congress. A switch of five votes could have been disastrous. But the shape of that vote also contains some encouragement. The House Democratic organization made a better showing in this fight than it had in many a moon. John Rankin, Gene Cox and Company made the poorest showing since they joined the Republocrat Alliance. On the first day of the new session, the Rankin gang had been able to corral 70 Democrats to vote with the Republicans for an Un-American Affairs Committee. On Wallace, they could only pull 22 Democrats.

Mr. Wallace has done a real service to party responsibility in the course of his fight for the Commerce post by drawing the line even more sharply between the real Democrats and the Republicans in Confederate clothing.

The Bretton Woods Agreement

Following the President's excellent message to the Congress on the Bretton Woods agreement, legislation has now been introduced providing for American entry into the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank created by that agreement. Many weeks of hearings are expected, and extensive and time-consuming debate will very likely follow unless public interest demands greater speed.

Bretton Woods, as the President pointed out, is the cornerstone for future international economic coöperation, as Dumbarton Oaks is the political cornerstone. "It is time for the United States to take the lead in establishing the principle of economic coöperation as the foundation for expanded world trade," the President told Congress. The Bank and the Fund, he said, "are concrete evidence that the economic objectives of the United States agree with those of the United Nations."

The Bank receives general support, but there is controversy about the Fund for exchange stabilization. The American Bankers' Association opposes it, and a powerful lobby will try to cut the Fund out of the legislation. If this occurs, Britain, where there is strong opposition to the Fund on grounds precisely opposite to those urged by American bankers, will also fail to ratify the agreement and the two nations will drift apart on the exchange problem. Meanwhile 224 prominent economists, out of 250 canvassed, have announced support of the Fund as well as the Bank. Those supporting Bretton Woods include 16 out of 18 former Presidents of the American Economic Association. The economists in question include liberals and conservatives, New Dealers and anti-New Dealers.

The danger is that the masses of the people, who do not understand the issues, will not put enough pressure on the legislators to offset the bankers' influence. A campaign of public education is in order.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not Anti-Catholic

On page 281 of this issue appears an article by Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, noted authority on Latin American affairs, gravely questioning the wisdom of the American State Department in pushing the Catholic Church to the foreground in its relations with Latin America. In publishing this article we should like to emphasize again that the *New Republic* is not anti-Catholic. We do not criticize Catholicism as a religion, or the Church as a church. We have never criticized anything except political, social and economic activities of the Catholic Church which seem to us to violate fundamental democratic principles. Dr. Inman explicitly states that this is also his position. He recognizes, as we do, that there are millions of Catholics, especially in the United States, who are good democrats and do not agree with many things that are done in the name of the Church. It should also be noted that Dr. Inman's criticism on this occasion is more of the State Department than of the Church itself. It is only natural that the Church dignitaries should take advantage of what must seem to them a golden opportunity to put the power and prestige of the United States Government behind their effort to rehabilitate their fortunes in the Latin American republics.

People in the Limelight: Claude Pepper

Of all the men elected to the United States Senate since the beginning of the New Deal, none has surpassed Claude Pepper as a militant and eloquent people's spokesman. Most recently, he stood out as chief fighter for Henry Wallace when few members of the Senate were willing to stand up and be counted.

Claude Pepper was born a poor boy. He worked his way through the University of Alabama, taught public school, worked in the Birmingham steel mills, and made his way to Harvard Law School. While there, Pepper campaigned against the reëlection of Henry Cabot Lodge on the issue of the League of Nations. Since his own election to the Senate in 1936 to fill out an unexpired term, Claude Pepper's two major interests have been the welfare of the common American and international welfare through international coöperation. He was one of the early leaders for a Fair Labor Standards Act. Now, through his Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education, he is plowing the ground for similar action on federal health legislation. At the same time, he is urging another method to raise the general standard of living, by setting 65 cents per hour as a minimum below which the War Labor Board should consider all wages substandard. On the international side, as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Pepper has been an outstanding supporter of the Administration's foreign policy. But on questions like the recent State Department appointments, he has stood for the progressive position regardless of the Administration position. In addition to fighting for the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods agreements, Senator Pepper is the sponsor of an amendment to the Constitution which would eliminate the obstructive requirement of a two-thirds vote of the Senate to ratify a treaty.

In 1945, Southerners with ideas like those of Claude Pepper are far less rare than they were when he came to Washington in 1936. When the South does step up to takes its full place in the twentieth century, a good share of the credit should go to him.

The Crimean Charter

A WEEK'S TIME for reflection does not lessen the importance of the results achieved at the Crimean Conference. Every passing day makes it clearer that these results may, in the long conspectus of history, prove of tremendous importance. We say "may," and not "will," because there is nothing automatic about it. Everything depends upon how the decisions are implemented, to what extent the apparent change of attitude proves to be real, and whether over a period of years the Allies insist on continuing certain policies which, in our judgment, seem likely to prove unwise.

The American isolationist and proto-isolationist press, like the Hearst and Scripps-Howard chains and the *Chicago Tribune* axis, are howling their heads off about the results of the conference, their main point being that Russia won an overwhelming victory over the Western Allies. If for nothing else, one would be predisposed toward the conference for the enemies it has made. It is true that Stalin got most of what he wanted in regard to two important matters, Polish boundaries and German reparations in kind and in labor. But it is nonsense to suppose that he did not give a good deal in return. The Lublin government of Poland is to be broadened to include other elements; Mikolajczyk is mentioned as a possible member. Free elections are to be held as soon as possible. It is not yet definitely settled that Poland is to get part of East Prussia, and Silesia and Pomerania, in exchange for the territory east of the Curzon Line. The question is left to be decided at the final peace conference, in the light of what the then existing Polish government may want. It is quite possible that that government might decide against seizure of such large parts of Germany, with the long continued international tension that would thereby be created.

Both Russia and Great Britain have yielded something, if the terms are carried out, in regard to control of liberated countries. The Crimean document says firmly that these countries are to be reconstituted along democratic lines, and that no one of the Allies is to act unilaterally. Up to now, Russia has been running things by herself in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hungary, and Great Britain has been doing the same in Greece, Belgium and the Netherlands. She is also the dominant factor in Italy, although the United States is more in evidence there than in the other areas. If this document is carried out, and does not remain a mere paper declaration of noble intentions, the situation in every one of the conquered or liberated countries mentioned should be tremendously improved. America, which has far less direct and selfish interest in these countries than either Great Britain or Russia, can and should be the watchdog of this part of what the *New York Times* calls "the Crimean Charter."

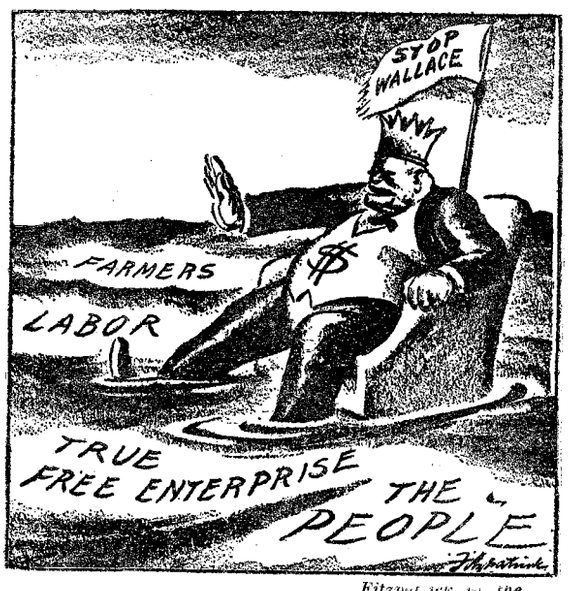
On February 18 the terms of the compromise over voting procedure in the Security Council were still an official secret; but James B. Reston in the *Times* gave a prediction of its contents which had every earmark of authenticity. Cases of international disputes which do not involve punitive measures (economic or military sanctions) are to be decided by a simple majority of the Council, whose membership includes all of the Big Five—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France and China—and six other countries. In these cases, neither of the parties is allowed to vote, if either or both of them happen to be members of the Council. If, however, punitive measures are to be invoked, six members or a majority of the Council, including all of the Big Five, must vote affirmatively. In other words, Stalin still has his veto over military or economic pressure on Russia; but he cannot prevent disputes in which Russia is involved from being brought up before the Council, testimony being taken and published broadcast, perhaps even an adverse judgment voted if it does not involve sanctions. Ideally, to be sure, majority vote in the Council ought to rule in all cases; but as a practical matter, it is impossible to get Russia to accept this at the present time, and in all probability, the United States as well. Moreover, this is a false issue, in the sense that a vote of sanctions means war.

The results at Yalta should help greatly to make possible the adoption of the international bank and the international fund proposed at Bretton Woods (the first of them is discussed by Dr. Alvin Hansen in an article on page 284 of this issue). At Yalta the world moved substantially nearer to orderly political relationships. These cannot be effected unless they are accompanied by orderly economic arrangements as well.

Another matter as to which Yalta greatly improved the prospects is America's adherence to the Dumbarton Oaks plan after the work begun in Washington has been completed in San Francisco. The Crimean Conference cut the ground from under American critics on several of their most cherished points, which perhaps accounts for the frustrated rage of Hearst, Scripps-Howard, *et al.* The new Polish government is not to be Moscow-dictated, but will be broadened and will be supplemented by free, democratic elections. Germany, after defeat, is likewise removed from any putative Russian sphere, and will be controlled by the three chief Allies, with the aid of France. The Free German Committee in Moscow will play a far less important role, if any. Another of Stalin's confessions at Yalta was to give way on his previous position that the German army might continue after the surrender. The joint declaration which he signed says that German militarism is to be destroyed in toto. As for the division of Europe into spheres of influence, with the implicit danger of a new world war, as noted above, the conference went about as far, on paper, as it possibly could to reduce the likelihood of such a thing. No sensible American critic could ask, at this time, for anything more.

We agree with our Washington correspondent that the President has acted wisely in nominating former Governor Stassen and Senator Vandenberg to the American delegation to San Francisco. Thereby he has avoided one of the worst mistakes of Woodrow Wilson, who took with him to Paris not the leaders of the Republican opposition, but nominal Republicans on whom he could count in advance for unquestioning support. In Vandenberg and Stassen he has chosen two of the strongest Republican leaders, from the right and left wings, both of whom have already made notable contributions to the debate on American foreign policy. On February 19, Senator Vandenberg had not yet said that he would accept the President's nomination to the American delegation; but we do not see how he can possibly refuse and ever again hope to play an important part in American public affairs.

The most troubling sections of the Yalta document have to do with peace terms for Germany; but even here almost everything depends on detailed decisions that have yet to be worked out. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether permanent peace will be made more likely if large sections of German territory are taken



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

What King Tory Is Really Trying to Stop

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

away and given to Poland in the east and to France, Belgium and the Netherlands in the west. As to reparations, there is an obvious vast improvement over the Treaty of Versailles, which attempted to exact from Germany all that she could possibly pay. This time, no punitive damages are asked, but only restoration, in so far as is possible, of the damage done. Such restoration is partly incompatible with the desire to keep Germany permanently weak in a military sense. Moreover, the German labor battalions that are proposed should be carefully safeguarded lest they become instruments for persecution of individual young Germans, who may have been only six or seven years old when the war began. The Allies have apparently not yet quite decided whether they want revenge or permanent peace, or if they want the latter, whether to obtain it by making Germany a continuing prison camp or by giving her a chance for rehabilitation, morally and otherwise, in the eyes of the world. But as to all this, the door was not closed at Yalta. We still have time to fight for a decent future, and we have a fair chance of getting it. No reader of this paper needs to be told of the disaster to permanent peace that will result if a great part of central Europe is turned into a permanent slum.

In the light of all this, it is legitimate to say that the Crimean Conference can prove a turning point in world history. It has not yet done so; the statesmen who assembled there remained, after all, the same men they were before, with the same notorious human frailties and the same almost irresistible nationalistic pressures behind them. But on the whole, the actions they took which seem likely to be permanent were the better ones, and those that seem more likely to fade with the passage of time were those which were dubious or worse. Certainly, they gave no reason to invalidate the previous decision that the United States should join the new world organization envisaged at Dumbarton Oaks. If we get such an organization going, we can then fight to remedy the weaknesses with which it begins. If we don't get it going, we doom the world to an indefinite continuation of the sort of thing we have seen for the past thirty years.

Roosevelt and de Gaulle

RELATIONS between the United States and France, which were already not very good, have suddenly worsened. Mr. Roosevelt asked General de Gaulle to meet him at Algiers, where the President had stopped over on his way back from the Yalta conference. De Gaulle either declined outright to meet the President, or demanded a considerable interval of time, for the sake of his dignity, before he would go, as he has done on at least two previous occasions. He countered by inviting Mr. Roosevelt to visit France; the invitation was refused; and there the matter stood on February 19.

The French feel very bitter, and with good reason, over the way they have been treated by the British and American governments. We have often acted more as though France were a defeated enemy than a conquered ally. Much of our attitude has had no basis in the facts of the situation, but has resulted from personal pique on the part of Mr. Churchill, and especially Mr. Roosevelt, over de Gaulle's bad manners. The French are perfectly right in saying that it is inconceivable that we should have permanent peace in Europe unless France plays an important role. They are probably right in believing that we could have done much more and done it much sooner in reëquipping their army and in supplying them food, fuel and raw materials for their industries.

While we feel that France has been unfairly treated, we must add that we regret the new position de Gaulle is gradually revealing. He seems to us to be moving from a legitimate nationalism toward a dangerous chauvinism. *The New Republic* has supported de Gaulle as a protagonist of liberal and democratic ideas, not as the exponent of mere nationalism. Nowadays he talks exclusively about power and prestige for France, to a dismaying degree. We should like to hear him talk about the future of Europe as a whole, a future in which all the liberated countries, and the regenerated enemy countries, will play a part. We should like to hear him speak of the French empire in terms giving evidence that old-fashioned imperialism will have no part to play in the new France. Above all, we should like to hear him express views about the future of Germany beyond the simple-minded notion of keeping a French army sitting in perpetuity on the banks of the Rhine. De Gaulle has had the support of American and British liberals because they believed he wanted the sort of world they also want. The time has surely come for him to demonstrate that he deserves their support, or repudiate it.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG
Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE
Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, HELEN FULLER (Washington)
Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Catholics and Latin America[1]

The Church, the State Department and the Good Neighbor Policy

WHAT WOULD YOU THINK if you were one of the leading scientists of the United States reporting to your ambassador in a Latin American republic to carry out your appointment to lecture in that nation, and your ambassador said to you: "I want you to know that I opposed your appointment because you are not a Roman Catholic"?

How would you reply, if you were traveling in another southern republic, to liberals in that country asking why the United States, a Protestant country, was now officially pushing Roman Catholic clericalism in their land, when they had fought and won the battle against it many years ago?

How would you feel if you were a loyal Roman Catholic, a citizen of the United States visiting Mexico, and heard a priest of your faith, in the presence of noted guests from other American republics, gathered in the Church of Guadalupe to inaugurate a year's celebration in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe, ask the great congregation there assembled: "Whose fault is it that we have no gasoline? Whose fault is it that we have no rice? Whose fault is it that we suffer all our woes?"—and your spiritual guide in the pulpit should pause for the reply, shouted in unison by the congregation to each of these questions: "The United States!" "The United States!"?

These and similar facts were brought out at an "off-the-record luncheon" in New York a few days after the reëlection of President Roosevelt. Every person present, with the exception of the two distinguished Latin Americans and one other, voted for President Roosevelt and considered his election a victory for international liberalism. But everyone present—editors, radio commentators and leaders in the religious and political world—agreed that it is now the duty of every liberal to show the public how open encouragement of fascism and clericalism practised by our government in Latin America in the last four years right alongside the Good Neighbor Policy, has lowered the standing of the United States.

The fact of this rapid loss of prestige is admitted by most students of inter-American affairs. The reasons for it are various. But the broad underlying reason reinforcing all the others, is that the United States Government, following its fatal decision to coöperate with Franco Spain, seemed to think that the way to beat Hitler propaganda in Latin America was to channel our progress through the Roman Catholic Church. Both of these revolutionary ideas, which are affecting so profoundly the cause of freedom, were probably caused by the overwhelming pressure of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the Washington administration—a pressure that is so strongly exercised on the press and radio that it is common talk in every newsroom and broadcasting studio. According to reliable inside sources, the idea of using such channels seems to have originated about 1940. Since then it has predominated in the State Department and in the United States embassies south of the Rio Grande. Overwhelming testimony to this effect was collected in a recent investigation trip by an Argentine born of American parents, Dr. George F. Howard, and now published in English under the title, *Religious Liberty in Latin America*.[1]

The advice given to the State Department did not come from South American Catholics, but from an insistent group in the United States. They declared, as Father Joseph Francis Thorning put it in the *Catholic Digest*, that "The American republics will have no faith in an alliance without the benefit of clergy. Our good neighbors of this hemisphere can be gained for all time by the *Sacrament* of friendship. The mystical body of Christ is a potential and infinite force."

Belligerently backing this claim, notwithstanding opposition of liberal members, the archbishops and bishops met in Washington in November, 1942, and issued their famous statement, challenging the rights of Protestant missionaries in Latin America, and declaring (with evident reference to the new attitude of the State Department) that the bishops "were consoled by recent events." They expressed "the hope that the mistakes of the past, which were offensive to the dignity of our southern brothers, their culture and their religion, will not continue." This channeling of cultural exchanges through the Church was opposed by Latin Americans employed by the administration to advise on this subject. They declared that it would turn the democratic forces in Latin America against us. But their advice was accepted only in extreme cases, like the one concerning an invitation to a group of reactionary bishops of Latin America to visit the United States. The group was invited and their itinerary and publicity were arranged by the special section in the Coördinator's Office for liaison with the Roman Catholic Church. But under pressure, the reactionary bishop in Buenos Aires who headed an anti-democratic, anti-United States campaign was eliminated, and Bishop Miguel de Andrea, a fighter for democracy and social justice,

[1] Comment on this article appears in the editorial section of this issue.—THE EDITORS

[1] *Religious Liberty in Latin America*, by George F. Howard. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 192 pages. $2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

came. The interest of the State Department in promoting a two-way exchange of Catholic propaganda is shown in the Department's release of August 26, 1943, which states:

> Two eminent ecclesiastics of Chile, Monseñor Manuel Larraín Errázuriz, Bishop of Talca, and Monseñor Javier Bascuñán Valdéz, Rector of the Junior Seminary of Santiago, have arrived in Washington as guests of the Department of State. . . . In March of the present year Bishop Larraín Errázuriz called six United States priests to the work in his diocese. It is the hope of the Bishop—who says that "the future of the world rests on America, a united America"—to have a religious congregation of the United States to establish itself in Chile.

Following a recent visit to the United States, a Colombian representative of the Church, R. P. Antonio Granados, S.J., published in *La Defense* of Medellin, Colombia, a report on his trip, stating that "I was talking with Monseñor [Michael J.] Ready, secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who said to me more or less as follows: The government of the United States regards the Protestant propaganda with great disgust and considers it as an enemy to the Good Neighbor Policy. On several occasions the government has shown that it would be pleased to see the Latin American countries put an end to this propaganda."

The liberal Latin American press, having learned through long experience to scent the presence of clericalism, soon began to detect this policy. A prominent Havana review, *Ultra*, translated the *Catholic Digest* article and attacked the "effort to make Washington believe that all North American cultural contacts will be badly received if not made through the Catholic clergy." The editor declared that such ideas "are completely false"—offensive to Latin Americans—and that "much of the future depends on whether Washington understands this truth." The totalitarian propaganda of the Jesuits, as the editor called it, was a "defense of Franco and his brutal regime, covered over with religion and fomenting, openly or secretly, opposition to the United States, Protestantism and materialism."

By January, 1944, the situation had become so bad that one of the best literary critics of Latin America, Dr. Luis-Alberto Sánchez, made this direct challenge to the State Department in a widely quoted article:

> Political states, understanding the power of religion, are losing no time in using it for their particular purposes. . . . If the Washington functionaries are seeking a way to discredit religion *per se*, they have already advanced in their plans by this endorsement of Catholic missionaries. Christianity, with such tactics, will end as a manifestation of imperialism. . . . The sending of a large number of Catholic propagandists from a country which is predominately capitalistic and Protestant to countries typically semi-colonial and Catholic, appears to be a threat, and is certainly far removed from fair play.

A Latin American who has been an intimate adviser to our government and a great devotee of the Good Neighbor Policy, has just returned from a trip through Latin America. He reports that in all his previous experience he has never known such distrust of the United States. He believes that it results from the fact that our representatives have innocently believed they could win Latin Americans by showing them that this country is, like themselves, Catholic, that our government will protect them from any Protestant propaganda, that we favor the reactionary dictators and ecclesiastics who control many of these republics and that we back Franco and the propagandists of *Hispanidad*. An official of a prominent women's organization of the United States, who has just returned from a similar trip, reports the same alarm. Practically every Latin with whom she talked raised the question as to why diplomats from a democratic and Protestant country are today courting the Catholic clergy and selecting them to serve on cultural exchanges between the United States and southern lands. Ambassadors practically admitted such a preference, she said, but lesser officials in the embassies were deeply concerned about the evil results of this policy.

The Cultural Attaché of the American Embassy in an important Latin American republic recently stated that he had been active on the side of the rector in a strike, carried out amid bloodshed, to oust the fascist rector of a university from his post, since, according to the attaché, that gentleman was "the finest rector the university had named for a century." This same attaché, speaking as though embassy funds for cultural exchange belonged to him personally, said that he would give $500 for the employment of a professor in a summer school held by a United States college in this Latin American republic, provided certain liberals were not employed. He added that he would give the money through the local rector, who could use this fund to pay several political debts and thus would be brought closer to the United States.

"I noticed something curious when I went to the United States," said the president of the University of Sao Paulo, a guest of the State Department on a visit to this country. "Everyone who had any official contact with me was an American Catholic." A similar impression was reported by Dr. Gil Salguiro of Uruguay, another guest of the Department. Although he is not a Catholic and came from a country where anti-clericalism is particularly strong, during his visit here Dr. Salguiro was sent to lecture exclusively in Roman Catholic institutions.

"We Latin Americans are inclined to be distrustful," says Manuel Seoane in his book, *El Gran Vecino*, which describes his trip to this country. "We ask ourselves, why does a country that is predominantly Protestant send us delegations that are predominantly Roman Catholic? Why does it try to hide its Protes-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tantism? . . . Among us, religious freedom has been established by our constitutions and it offends us to think that an inquisitorial office has been established in some passport department which decides to whom we are to extend our hospitality."

"The influence of Catholic intolerance reflected in the foreign policy of the United States," says Dr. Hugo Fernández Artucio of Uruguay, who led his country in a successful attack on Nazism, "is considered by the people of liberal spirit in this country as a dangerous symptom of the totalitarian leanings of the United States."

Today our government is deeply concerned with the progress of fascism in Argentina. And well it may be. For the combination of the Franco propagandists, the big landholders, the reactionary section of the Catholic clergy and the political dictators of nearby republics, under Argentine leadership, is carrying on a driving campaign in every Latin American country to develop sentiment like that expressed in the great meeting at the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico.

How did this Argentine situation come about? President Roosevelt visited Buenos Aires in 1936 and was given the greatest reception any foreign visitor has ever received. Along with him went Secretary Hull and Sumner Welles to attend the Inter-American Peace Conference. Those were the days when one of the finest diplomatic teams we ever had was operating at its best. All of these men did great work for democracy. The Argentine newspapers and public came nearer to admiration of their great northern rival than ever before in history. Old critics of American imperialism like Alfredo Palacios, with whom I had debated the question for fifteen years, announced their complete conversion to coöperation with this country, which had now, they said, become the indisputable leader of the liberal forces of the world.

Look at these two great nations today—only nine years later! With diplomatic relations broken, they are busily engaged in calling each other vile names in the public press and each is engaged in a campaign to get the aid of other American republics in smashing its opponent. Why this great American tragedy? There are many reasons, certainly. But from the standpoint of the United States, an important one is that we chose to play with Franco Spain, his Argentine agents, and with the clerical, fascist elements in Buenos Aires, the natural (and in Spain, the official) allies of Hitler. That was the way, we believed, to win Argentina to our side. The great liberal elements, avowed friends of the United States, men and women who bear on their bodies the marks of persecution for freedom's sake, these we often passed by. The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, with its special staff to care for its Roman Catholic relations, actually planned to invite, as our government's guest, Bishop Franchesqui, notoriously pro-fascist, who is editor of a paper which for years has published the most scurrilous attacks on the United States, Jews, Protestants, Masons and democracy. Fortunately, a special appeal by an Argentine to the Coördinator was able to stop what would have made us the laughing stock of the whole continent. While we naïvely supported the very elements who were the secret friends of our fascist enemies, the Argentines went from enthusiastic support of Roosevelt in 1936 to open subservience to the fascists. Then they signed a treaty with our mutual friend Franco for materials to arm Argentina to the teeth. Word has come from Portugal that a large number of Spanish priests are sailing for Latin America to reinforce the *Hispanidad* propaganda. Today, every time we lecture Argentina for being fascist, condemn her armament program and threaten her with economic sanctions, we drive her own people and other Latin Americans to closer support of "those who, with all their faults, can stand up against Yankee imperialism."

Exactly twenty years ago I wrote an article attacking armed intervention as the force that was fatally dividing the American continent. It cost me many an uneasy hour. But in 1933, at the Pan American Conference in Montevideo, I had the greatest day of my life. I saw Secretary of State Hull sign a treaty agreeing that "no American nation shall intervene in the internal or external affairs of another nation." That was the real foundation of the Good Neighbor Policy. In 1936, at the Buenos Aires Convention, I saw Mr. Hull obtain the joint participation of the American republics in the Monroe Doctrine. In 1938, I again watched him, at the Eighth Pan American Conference at Lima, hold the American republics together in the face of the terrific threat of the Axis drive, and get an agreement that all the American republics would jointly consult on the best ways to defend the continent. The accomplishments of the Good Neighbor Policy have given me one of the deepest satisfactions of my life.

But that accomplishment is now headed for trouble. This time the cause is not military intervention. It is clerical intervention. It threatens not only the Good Neighbor Policy but freedom of expression in every section of the globe. To be sure, the Roman Catholic Church itself is deeply divided on the question. Many bishops, priests, editors and members of the Church are struggling against the recent resurrection of this illicit partnership between church and state. They realize that Catholics cannot continue to enjoy religious liberty in the United States if they exert their open influence to exclude religious liberty from Latin America. The author is here writing as a friend of religion and of the Roman Catholic Church, and not in any way as an enemy.

The appeal in this article is first to the world's leader of liberalism, President Roosevelt, and the liberals in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the State Department, who have succumbed to an overwhelming pressure; next it is to the millions of liberal Roman Catholics who themselves are prisoners of a clerical group flushed with power; finally it is to every friend of tolerance, of religion and of democracy, to stop this threat before it brings the unhappy results which clerical dominance has always brought.

This is a political and in no way a religious question. The spiritual ministrations of the Roman Catholic Church and its thousands of priests in these days of world tragedy are beyond all praise. In crowded city cathedrals and lonely mountain chapels, this writer has found inspiration in worship with his fellow Christians. When he was connected officially with another Christian organization, he continually argued in favor of coöperation with the spiritual forces of the Roman Catholic Church.

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

Isolationism or Bretton Woods

THE BRETTON WOODS Monetary and Financial Proposals are an important part, but only a part, of a full, rounded program of postwar international economic collaboration. Political internationalism will fail if it is not supported and reinforced by international economic coöperation. Economic isolationism would sooner or later wreck any program for international political security.

An all-out program of international economic cooperation involves: (a) commercial policy and tariffs, (b) monetary arrangements, (c) international lending, (d) control of cartels, (e) control of airways and shipping, (f) commodity agreements, (g) international programs relating to labor and agriculture; and many others.[1]

Basic, however, to any program of international cooperation is a commitment by each country, particularly the great industrial nations, to a policy of full employment at home. Under modern conditions, it is not possible for any large country to be a decent, neighborly and effective member of an international economy unless it maintains high income levels and internal stability. This is a first prerequisite for effective international economic collaboration.

A good and effectively functioning international economy in the postwar world requires: (a) full employment in the advanced industrial countries; and (b) development and industrialization in the backward countries.

These two programs mutually sustain each other. Full employment in the great industrial countries will be promoted by a process of development and industrialization in the backward countries. International lending and international investment, by stimulating exports especially in the heavy-goods industries, can contribute to full employment in the United States. Without them, the development and industrialization of backward countries would be seriously retarded.

If we are to return to a system of multilateral international trade in the postwar period, we must create a mechanism, suitable to the times, for international lending and international exchange. In this article I shall discuss the proposals for lending; in a succeeding article, I shall discuss the International Monetary Fund.

That there is an intense interest throughout the world in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is not difficult to understand. Enthusiasm for the Bank was strikingly evident at Bretton Woods. Many European countries need the Bank for reconstruction loans. The backward countries need the Bank for development and industrialization.

There is a new spirit abroad in the world today. Everywhere it is recognized that the backward countries cannot and should not remain economic colonies. Past experience indicates that substantial progress in the development of resources and in the modernization of productive techniques in the backward countries awaits a positive program of international investment based on far sounder lines than the speculative lending of the 1920's.

The Bank will have a capital of $9.1 billion, to which the United States subscription is roughly one-third. The Bank may use up to 20 percent of its capital resources for direct loans to foreign governments or foreign private enterprises. The remaining 80 percent (plus any part of the 20 percent not used for direct loans) will be available to guarantee: (a) bonds issued by the Bank itself in private capital markets (the funds so raised to be loaned to foreign borrowers) and (b) bonds issued by foreign governments or foreign enterprise in capital-surplus countries such as the United States. It can be expected that the Bank will mainly guarantee foreign issues and that these will largely be floated in the American capital markets.

The International Bank is a brilliant contrivance. It invokes the participation of all member countries in the underwriting and guarantee of each loan. The advantages to the United States of this arrangement are obvious. The American investor will find a profitable investment outlet in a high-grade security. But the American taxpayer underwrites only one-third of the risk. The American exporter will benefit from the

[1] For a comprehensive discussion of these problems intended for the general reader, see my forthcoming book, *America's Role in the World Economy*, soon to be published by W. W. Norton and Company (New York).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stimulus to export springing from the development programs. It would be difficult to devise a plan more favorable to American interests.

In discussing the prospects of the International Bank I have frequently made a comparison with the record of the Federal Housing Administration in reforming mortgage financing in the United States. There are many parallels between the deplorable conditions in mortgage financing and international lending in the decade of the twenties. With respect to home financing, second or third mortgages were typically piled on top of first mortgages, with rates of interest so high as to invite default. There was usually no provision for amortization. There was no adequate analysis of the financial position of the borrower. There was quite inadequate inspection and control of construction standards, leading to jerry-building. Similarly, with respect to international loans, the interest rates and commission charges loaded the borrower with a task frequently impossible of performance from the start. Loans were often made without consideration of the uses to which the funds would be put. Indeed, not infrequently they were urged upon irresponsible borrowers. The innocent American investor held the bag.

The FHA has made a creditable record in placing home mortgages on a high plane. The mess of second and third mortgages is gone. Interest rates are reasonable and uniform throughout the country. Quality standards of construction are imposed. Amortization payments are required. The size of the loan is related to the income position of the borrower.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development implements essentially the ingenious device of the FHA. The FHA is a system of mutual mortgage insurance. It taps private investment funds. The borrower contributes to a central pool a small insurance premium. This is the second line of defense protecting the lender (the first line of defense being the value of the house itself). In the event that the insurance pool proves inadequate, there is finally the guarantee of the United States Treasury.

In similar manner the International Bank will tap private funds. It will guarantee bonds issued in private capital markets by foreign governments or foreign corporations. The borrower will pay an insurance charge (technically called, in the Bretton Woods Agreement, a commission charge) of 1 to 1½ percent. This insurance pool protects the lender over and above the security afforded by the project itself and by the guarantee of the foreign government—which guarantee is specifically required for all private loans. Finally, the lender is protected by the guarantee of the International Bank itself, which guarantee is backed dollar for dollar by the subscribed capital of the Bank.

The Bank for Reconstruction and Development cannot guarantee loans in excess of its capital plus any accumulated reserves. It is thus evident that the bonds guaranteed by the Bank must be regarded as gilt-edged securities and should command the confidence of cautious investors all over the world.

The Bank is not intended as a substitute for private lending. No foreign borrower able to obtain funds on reasonable terms will be permitted to use the resources of the Bank. But there are many countries in which important development projects, including transportation facilities of all kinds, power development and agricultural-resources development could not be undertaken by any private lender on reasonable terms without the Bank's guarantee. These are often just the projects that are most urgently needed for the development and increased productivity of backward countries. And in many cases, only after these basic developments are made, is it possible for private enterprise to find profitable investment outlets. Thus, the Bank's lending can be expected to increase private investment opportunities in many parts of the world.

It is, moreover, not intended that the American Export-Import Bank shall be superseded by the International Bank, as was made clear by the President in his recent budget message. The Export-Import Bank will continue to play a large role with respect to American investment in Latin America and elsewhere. The funds of the International Bank are limited. The Bank will welcome all the private lending that can be made on reasonable terms. It will welcome loans by the American Export-Import Bank. The International Bank is intended to be a lender of last resort. It will supplement, not supplant, private and government lending.

It will be said that such a Bank will obviously be saddled with highly risky loans; that its capital will be used to guarantee imprudent loans. This criticism fails, however, to grasp the essence of such a program. Similar criticisms were initially leveled against the Federal Home Loan Corporation, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other government lending agencies. Private institutions could not afford to undertake the risks involved. Yet the losses proved in fact to be inconsequential. The International Bank may indeed suffer serious losses if governments everywhere fail to back it up with programs of domestic full employment and general expansion of trade and production. But if general world prosperity is maintained, the Bank is likely to come off very well indeed.

The limited risk assumed by each government (restricted to the amount of its subscription) is relatively small compared with the gains to be derived from a general development program and a world-wide expansion of trade to which the operations of the Bank can make an important contribution. The International Bank is a spark plug. Along with other things, it can help ignite the development process. Once set going, private lending and investment, unaided by the Bank, will contribute to the expansion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If we are going to have a dynamic economy, we must be willing to assume risks. We cannot get the large-scale reconstruction and development projects going without government guarantee. And those that broadly concern the whole family of nations must be undertaken by an international institution in which each member assumes a share in the risk.

This is the theory underlying the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. I have emphasized the developmental aspects, but not because loans for the reconstruction of war-devastated countries are not important. They will be. Reconstruction needs are obvious and require little emphasis. And it is peculiarly fitting that all the United Nations shall join forces to underwrite the loans needed to reëstablish a peacetime economy.

The role of international monetary arrangements in providing a foundation for world expansion of trade and rising living standards will be considered in a subsequent article. ALVIN H. HANSEN

This is the fourth of a series of articles under the general title, "The Price of Prosperity." – THE EDITORS

World Labor and the AFL

THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE, originally scheduled to meet in June, 1944, but postponed because of the invasion, finally convened in London on February 6. Intended to revive the long stagnant international labor movement by creating international trade-union unity, the conference threatens instead to lead to a new split. Chief culprit, its sanctimonious pronouncements notwithstanding, is the American Federation of Labor, the only great national trade-union body which, although invited, refused to attend. The reason given is that the conference was designed, in the words of AFL President William Green, to "promote disunity in world labor and through such disunity to establish the domination of Moscow over the international labor movement." By its non-participation the AFL hoped to frustrate what Mr. Green called "a Soviet conspiracy to split the democratic labor movement."

The AFL's self-righteous attitude is answered by the history of the international labor movement in the past few years. In July, 1936, when the fascist threat to peace and to the labor movement everywhere had become obvious in the Italo-German intervention in Spain, the International Federation of Trade Unions decided to establish contact with all national trade unions not members of the IFTU, especially those in Russia and in the United States. The undertaking to create a "united trade-union movement of the entire world" led to the affiliation of the AFL, which had stood apart from the IFTU since 1920. But nothing came of the negotiations with the Russians because the latter stipulated three conditions for their entry: that an extraordinary conference of the IFTU be called to strengthen international labor unity; that the Russian unions be entitled to name one of two chairmen who were to lead the IFTU; and that no fees paid by the Russian unions be used for propaganda against the USSR and Soviet trade unions. These conditions proved unacceptable to the general council of the IFTU, which met in Oslo in May, 1938.

The AFL opposed the Russian entry into the IFTU, allegedly not because of the Soviet conditions, but for reasons of principle. The AFL held that the Russian unions are not free trade organizations, but government-controlled. Whatever the merits of this point of view, the AFL has continued to maintain it to this day. It is also given as the reason why the AFL did not attend the recent conference which was called, not by the IFTU, but by the British TUC.

But AFL intransigence is not due to principle alone. In the fall of 1941, after Russia had entered the war, the British TUC and the Russian unions set up an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee. In December of the same year, after the United States had come into the war, this committee asked the AFL to join. The AFL refused and instead proposed the establishment of an Anglo-American Trade Union Committee. But this rebuff to the Russians was not enough for the AFL. It also rejected a British suggestion for the inclusion of the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods, insisting on its exclusive right to speak for all American workers. It was then that the Russians suggested to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee the convocation of an international conference at which, in addition to the unions belonging to the IFTU, the Russian unions, the CIO, the Brotherhoods and John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers would be represented.

By the time the World Trade Union Conference met, it had become clear that as long as the AFL opposed membership of the CIO and the Russian unions in the IFTU, a new international labor organization alone could overcome the obstacle to unity. Only a few days prior to the conference, on February 2, the general council of the IFTU, under AFL pressure, had refused to go on record as favoring a change in the IFTU's constitution to permit entrance of the Soviet unions and the CIO. And because it would take too long to reconstruct the IFTU, the CIO's proposal for a new, all-inclusive world labor organization, pre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sented to the conference by Sidney Hillman, is both understandable and justified.

Hillman's speech at the conference was a masterpiece of labor statesmanship. Leaving the door open for the AFL to join the new organization, Hillman rightly excoriated the AFL's representatives at the IFTU general council meeting, who, in his words, "stubbornly persist in nursing their narrow, factional feuds, petty jealousies and anti-Soviet bias." At the same time he effectively belittled the AFL's bogey-talk that the Russians would dominate the new organization, forcefully warning the latter that "any attempt to control an international organization by virtue of size or weight of numbers would be fatal."

The CIO plan for the immediate establishment of a new organization was backed by the Russians, the renovated French Confédération Générale du Travail, under Louis Saillant (the president of the French Resistance Council, a Socialist) and Vicente Lombardo Toledano's increasingly influential Confederation of Latin American Workers. The British, however, with their customary conservatism and perhaps out of sentimental loyalty to the AFL, although agreeing in principle on the need for a real world organization, were less anxious to replace the IFTU. Sir Walter Citrine, general secretary of the TUC and president of the IFTU, trying to postpone the immediate establishment of a new organization but not altogether opposing it, offered a compromise proposal to set up an interim committee to prepare a draft constitution for a new world labor body. This committee would be empowered to act as the temporary authority for the World Trade Union Conference and the fifty to sixty million workers represented there, particularly in making collective representations, setting forth labor aims, to the governments of the great powers.

Sir Walter's compromise proposal was probably the wisest course to take. If the AFL is invited, as planned, to become a member of the interim committee, but refuses to join, it will be as Lombardo Toledano pointed out in the debate on the proposal, its own responsibility. As things stand, there is little likelihood that the AFL will avail itself of the opportunity to give up its isolationist position. Its failure to adopt a more statesmanlike attitude in the matter of the Russian unions betrays political immaturity. While it is perfectly true that the relationship between the Soviet unions and the Soviet government at the present time is not in accord with our concept of the role which trade unions should play, exclusion of the Russian unions from the international labor movement can only have the effect of keeping old wounds open. The Russians are still pathologically suspicious of the outside world, and any attempt to remove the conditions which give rise to or strengthen these suspicions is salutary. Moreover, Russian participation in an international trade-union organization might well contribute to making the free-trade-union idea familiar to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

HEINZ EULAU

The Great Vitamin Scare

IF CASIMIR FUNK, the Polish biochemist who is credited with discovering the first vitamin, could have foreseen what American advertising would do with the ultimate results of his work, he might have looked the other way when his test tubes finally gave up the answer he and earlier food scientists had been seeking for nearly a hundred years. Funk and his fellow scientists hoped their work might help doctors and nutritionists find out how the body utilizes foods, so that diseases like scurvy, rickets, beriberi and pellagra could be avoided. This aim they accomplished. But profit-minded American manufacturers and their advertising brain-trusts have skyrocketed the vitamins into a $200-million-a-year business, often using misleading claims based on scientific half-truths and plain untruths.

As scientists have demonstrated through years of painstaking research, the vitamins are specific chemical compounds, found in foods, whose natural function is to aid the body in assimilating and using the carbohydrates and minerals also furnished in foods. The vitamins, Americans are warned ceaselessly over the radio and in magazines, newspapers, billboards and pamphlets, are mysterious substances which are probably missing from the diet but which can happily be swallowed in tablet form, with resultant miraculous freedom from fatigue, nervousness, insomnia, poor appetite, colds, digestive disorders and miscellaneous pains and diseases, known and unknown.

At best, such claims defraud healthy people of the money they spend on vitamin pills with the misguided notion that they may thereby improve health or fitness and avoid the occasional, non-specific aches and pains or the fatigue and nervousness to which all normal people are occasionally subject. At worst, this advertising encourages self-diagnosis and self-treatment on the part of men and women who are ill and need medical care, thus postponing—sometimes tragically—the kind of care which offers the only hope of cure. Too, the American diet has probably been harmed immeasurably, since thousands of people, with a false sense of security induced by vitamin advertising, continue to go without breakfast and eat hamburger-coffee lunches under the mistaken impression that a vitamin pill at dinner time will make up for this nutritional malfeasance.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recently, heartening evidence has appeared that the flood of conflicting claims and ebullient boasts about vitamins may leave a backwash of public confusion and diminishing sales. Bewildered by dozens of mutually contradictory statements offered as proof that this or that vitamin preparation is better than all others, the purchaser apparently is turning for advice to the pharmacist, who is likely to recommend an ethical or unadvertised product instead of a popular brand, or to the doctor, who is likely to recommend a balanced diet as the best substitute for all synthetic or "concentrated" vitamins. According to an advertising trade paper, the upward curve of vitamin sales is beginning to flatten out. One of the large mail-order houses, for example, has decided to cancel its vitamin line because it wasn't selling fast enough. Abruptly last fall, Standard Brands withdrew Stams ("*Eight* vitamins and *nine* minerals—*seventeen* in all!") and other vitamin products from the market, a move which was labeled a "retreat" by the trade paper. "The advertised brands hit a sales slowdown apparently because they made too much of a good thing," the trade announcement says with ingenuous frankness. "Too many companies tried to hop on the lucrative vitamin bandwagon."

At least one firm has sensed that the bandwagon may eventually go into reverse. Always a smart advertiser, the Wander Company has recently introduced a new copy theme for its health food, Ovaltine, which seeks to cash in on public disappointment in prepared vitamins. "If taking vitamins doesn't seem to be doing you as much good as you hoped," Ovaltine is saying reasonably in four-color magazine pages, ". . . take your vitamins in food!" The Ovaltine ad also states a simple truth about vitamins which underscores the fantastic nature of most vitamin advertising. "Vitamins do you more good in combination with certain other food elements," a headline says. "Authorities now know—vitamins do not work alone," the copy goes on, making a brand-new discovery out of knowledge which inspired the initial search for vitamins more than forty years ago! The whole truth, of course, is that one of the most important functions of the vitamins is to ensure best utilization of foods, and that prepared vitamins can never be substituted for an adequate diet; other vitally needed food substances, such as proteins, must always be supplied in foods. And a diet adequate in other respects, according to scientific authorities, is almost bound to have all the vitamins the average person needs.

But the truth about vitamins is heard only in nutrition laboratories and scientific meetings, while deception speaks with winsome persuasiveness wherever there is a radio. Worse yet, truth and deception are so cleverly compounded in some of the vitamin copy that it is difficult, even for the person who has some understanding of what the vitamins are, to separate them.

Nowhere is this more evident than in advertising of vitamin-B preparations. The B vitamins assist principally in the body's assimilation of carbohydrates—the starches and sugars, or "energy foods." The incredibly complicated physiologic processes by which this function is accomplished are by no means fully understood, even by scientists; it would be difficult to quarrel on scientific grounds with the simple statement that "fatigue and nervousness may come from lack of vitamin B." But every informed person should take strong exception to the implications in advertising like that used by Miles Laboratories to plug its "One-a-Day" B-complex tablets: "It's no fun to be left in the lurch," this says. "Do you have the sparkle of health—the vitality that makes people notice you and like you? If you feel *good*, if you enjoy vibrant *health*, you have a better chance to enjoy the things the world has to offer. . . . B vitamins help keep nervous and digestive systems up to normal . . . help you feel up to par."

The clearly implied meaning is that One-a-Day B-complex tablets will correct any nervous or digestive flaws the reader may suffer from and give him the sparkle of vibrant health and vitality, with a pointed suggestion that social popularity and business success will be thrown in to complete the bargain. Variations on this theme are worked into all the B-complex ads. Bex-Plus, for example, features nervousness, sleeplessness and lack of pep, then extols the "amazing pick-up in sound sleep and revitalized health" and the "dramatic change" which the wretched reader will experience if he does the right thing. "Don't wait!" say the Bex-Plus ads imperatively, plainly indicating that medical attention has no place in overcoming the pictured ailments. Vimms, the Lever Brothers' answer to exhaustion and discontent, introduces the same idea *via* a petulant housewife who is "all in" from doing the laundry and looking after the children. "Housework doesn't get me down!" says her prosperous-looking, Vimms-taking friend.

These and countless similar claims made by other advertisers are based on the known fact that nervous upset, fatigue, loss of appetite and poor sleep may all be early symptoms of vitamin-B_1, or thiamine, deficiency. But it doesn't follow that everyone who experiences any of these symptoms is in fact suffering from such a deficiency. It would be just as illogical to argue that everyone with a sore throat is getting scarlet fever, because sore throat is often an early symptom of this disease. As a matter of fact, the best scientific evidence would indicate that these symptoms are only occasionally related to vitamin lack. The *New England Journal of Medicine* a few weeks ago published the results of a study on this subject by Dr. F. N. Allan of Boston. Dr. Allan analyzed 300 consecutive cases at the Lahey Clinic in which the patient's principal complaint was weakness, exhaustion,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Georgia Kills the Poll Tax

ELLIS ARNALL, Governor of Georgia, has done more to extend the franchise than any other American since women were given the vote. Two years ago he sponsored the amendment to the Georgia Constitution lowering the voting age to 18, and then this year he accomplished the repeal of the Georgia poll tax—a tax on voting which has been a deterrent to democracy in Georgia since the Revolution.

The bold progressivism of the young Georgia Governor has won him national acclaim, but few realize the full significance of the reforms he has brought about. In the recent presidential elections only 328,111 Georgians voted. There were 1,319,957 white people and 653,604 Negroes of voting age in the state. Thus in the 1946 elections there will be nearly a million white people and more than a half-million Negroes who will not have the poll tax as a reason for not participating.

The experience of North Carolina and Florida, after the poll tax was abolished in those states, indicates that there will be a considerable increase in the number voting. The great question remains as to how they will vote. That question is of much more than local importance because in 1946 Georgia not only elects 10 Representatives but also a Governor who will control the delegation to the Democratic convention of 1948.

The fight over Wallace in the present Congress shows that the Democratic Party cannot be a real progressive party so long as so many of the Southern Democratic Senators and Representatives are even more reactionary than the Republican leadership. The Democratic Convention in Chicago last summer showed that the party will not nominate a liberal for President in 1948 unless there is a change in Southern politics.

The way the poll tax was abolished in Georgia is interesting in the light of the fight which we may expect for the new voters. By all indications, Eugene Talmadge will run against Arnall for Governor again in 1946. Talmadge has played the usual demagogue's role of catering to prejudiced groups and serving the corporate interests at the same time. He has been so obvious about it that he is periodically repudiated, but he never loses hope.

Since 1938, when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare started the fight for the abolition of the poll tax by federal action, there has been increasing impatience in the South and in the country with this tax on voting. Many groups have joined in the movement and politicians generally have taken notice of it. Nothing had been done in Georgia, however, and the Commission which is at present redrafting the state Constitution voted to include the poll tax. Governor Arnall had said privately that he was against the tax but that he did not want to give Talmadge the opportunity of using the issue to stir up race hatred.

A Committee of Editors and Writers of the South was organized with Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, as chairman. This committee was called for an all-day meeting at the Atlanta Biltmore on the subject of limitations to the franchise in the South. Among other facts that were brought out at this meeting was the great difference in voting in the Southern states as compared with the rest of the country. Last November, for example, in the thirteen Southern states an average of 30.5 percent of the people of voting age voted, as compared with a figure of 76.6 for the rest of the country.

The distinguished editors and writers who participated in this meeting were unanimous in deploring the dodges used to keep people from voting. Among the most outspoken critics were the Georgia editors present. Harry Strozier, contributing editor of the Macon *News*, and Bryan Collier, editor of the Columbus *Ledger*, stated that not only were they opposed to the poll tax, but they thought it was opposed by the people as well. Both cited general approval among their readers for their editorials against the poll tax. Julian Harris, long known as a prominent Georgia editor and now a correspondent for the *New York Times*, spoke for the full recognition of the Negro as a citizen.

Two days before the meeting of the editors and writers, Governor Arnall announced that he was going to appoint a Southwide commission to study the poll tax over a period of a year. This suggestion was generally criticized as an unnecessary evasion of an issue that should be settled now.

A few weeks later, Talmadge announced in his paper that he was against the poll tax. He had never done anything about it when he was Governor, but now he thought the tax should be abolished.

The Talmadge announcement was apparently a complete surprise to the Governor and his supporters. But as soon as Arnall could get an opinion from his Attorney General that he had the right to suspend the poll tax for two years by executive decree, he made a bold statement. He told the legislators frankly that if they didn't abolish the poll tax in Georgia, he would. The legislators were then faced with the prospect of an untaxed electorate at their next election and they were worried. If they voted for the poll tax they would have to answer to the people—so they supported Arnall.

Neither Talmadge nor the Governor apparently expects the abolition of the poll tax to increase Negro participation in the elections. They are thinking principally of the 1,300,000 white people who will now be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able to vote without announcing in May that they intend to, and paying in the fall for the privilege. If twice as many white people vote in 1946 as voted in 1944, the white population of the state will still not be up to the national voting average.

The decision of the Supreme Court granting Negroes the right to participate in the white primary in Texas has already had some effect on the rest of the South. A few Negroes voted in the Democratic primary in Georgia. More will undoubtedly try to vote next time.

The maxim that a large vote is a good vote will be on trial in Georgia in 1946. There is a hopeful new movement that will be a factor in the state from now on. A Committee for Georgia has been formed and Harry Strozier is the chairman. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, is vice-chairman. This committee stands squarely for the full citizenship of all Georgians. It has the support of organized labor and is affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Gene Talmadge will not have an easy time confusing the people if the Committee for Georgia carries out its program of citizen education. This indigenous Georgia organization will carry the fight to the people with full awareness of its responsibility to put the facts in such form that they cannot be misunderstood. They know that what happens in Georgia in the next two years will have a profound effect on the kind of peace we are able to make, as well as the kind of postwar world. The 1946 gubernatorial election in Georgia will be the opening action of the 1948 presidential campaign.

CLARK FOREMAN

Home for Keeps

"How does it feel to be home, son?"

Everyone asks us that—and we reply, "It feels great. It's wonderful."

"Nice to find everybody the same?"

Yes, it's nice. Nice to find the steaks and strawberry sundaes and soft white beds. It's nice to find the house just as we left it a couple years ago. The bombs missed it by five thousand miles. That's very nice because Charlie Reynolds, our English bunk-mate at Cassino, had three houses blown out from over his family. We thought of Charlie and his wife and three kids when we found the house the same.

Yes, everything is the same and that's nice if you like steaks and strawberry sundaes and soft white beds. And we like those things a lot. But there are a lot of things we don't like, and they're the same, too. That's not so nice.

Everything's not quite the same with us, you see. We've changed—some of us who went over there to fight for the rights of man or to make the world safe for democracy or because we were invited by our "friends and neighbors." A couple of years of war have changed us, but they haven't changed home. And the combination of "us" and "home" sometimes doesn't mix so well. So forgive us if at times we are bitter or disgusted or disillusioned.

It's not the steaks and strawberry sundaes and soft white beds and the house that's the same that make us wonder. No, we're glad they're the same. They're all part of the American way of life. And, after all, isn't that what we're fighting for? But we hoped that the war would do something about other things in the American way of life because it did it to our way of life.

The best and the worst in a man come out in war. That's an inexplicable paradox of this business. It makes a man kill. But it also warms his soul. He splits his last cigarette so a less fortunate pal can have a smoke. He exposes his buttocks so someone else can share his slit-trench when it gets too hot above ground. He shares his packages from home and his letters and the innermost secrets of his soul. He owns nothing because everything belongs to everyone.

Maybe you'll understand better if you hear the story of Jay Neirenberg. Jay drove an ambulance at the front. They asked for a volunteer one night to carry a dying German to a hospital. The road back was appropriately called the Fatal Mile. Jay volunteered. Over the ominous whistle and burst of shells that he somehow managed to elude, he listened patiently as the wounded Heinie screamed venomously almost verbatim from "Mein Kampf." How was the German to know that Jay was a Jew?

What is the moral of that story? Well, let me tell you about a cab-driver. We rode in his cab during our first days at home and he ignored a man hailing a ride in our direction. "The sonofabitch probably wants to split the fare. Nothin' in it for me. Let him walk home."

(Cabbie, would you drive through hell to save a dying German? He needs a lift mighty bad.)

We learned something from war about tolerance and gratitude and loving our neighbor (especially when he's killing a German who might kill you). And we hoped that "home" had learned some of these things from war, too, but the little, old lady—the 110-percent patriot—rushed up to us waving her newspaper triumphantly. "Did you see what the *Chicago Tribune* says about those Reds today? They're trying to control the world. We'll have to fight them next, you know!"

(Lady, have you thanked those Reds at Stalingrad who saved your son on the beaches of France?).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The barber had a good one for us, too. "Right here in the newspaper," he pointed, "it says the Americans are suffering disproportionate losses. The British ain't doin' their share."

(Would you say, Barber, that the losses were disproportionate at Dunkirk and Crete and in the Western Desert—and at Coventry? And in whose favor?)

We came home and our hearts were full of tolerance because we had discovered quite to our amazement that a German bullet didn't care what color of skin an American had, or whether his grandparents came from Tokyo or from south of the Mason-Dixon line or whether his father was a coal miner or a coal magnate or whether he went to a cathedral or a synagogue. The German bullet is a very tolerant instrument, and we learned something from it. But "home" didn't have this advantage of a lesson from the German bullet, and so letters-to-the-editor columns reeked with venom from the pens of those patriots who take sadistic delight in torturing Americans whose ancestors came from Japan instead of Norway or France.

(By the way, patriots, have you heard of that glorious American battalion with 1,000 Purple Hearts? The most gallant in the army, according to the official record. Their eyes are slightly off-center but they die very efficiently.)

And we listened to Theodore ("The Man") Bilbo. He was saying something about the threat to "white supremacy" and he was warning of most dire action if anyone in Congress talked about equal voting rights for the Negro.

(Senator, ask the Germans about "black supremacy." They learned a lot about it in Tunisia and Italy—much to their discomfort.)

Anyhow, we told ourselves as we looked once again upon the American scene, see what the country has done. Production, bonds, scrap drives. They've taken the war to heart. The war has taught "home" the folly of isolation and the cancerous evil of Nazism. And then we heard the mutterings. The same mutterings we had heard before. "The Germans didn't attack us. We had no business fighting them. That's not our war over there."

(Here you are, soldier. Here's the leg you had shot off at St. Lo. It was all a mistake. That's not our war.)

No, don't get us wrong. Some have learned. Some who once believed that we could live in a vacuum apart from the world, safe and sound and secure. They saw the great bombers overhead and they read of the robot bombs and they envisioned the world-destroying rockets of tomorrow. And they realized that science, if it had done nothing else, had destroyed forever that pleasant illusion of a nation secure in isolation. But we found some—more than a harmless handful—whose convictions had remained static while science had forged ahead and who marched blindly toward World War III and national suicide.

It was a very disturbing discovery, but no more so than the discovery that made-at-home fascism was flourishing while made-in-Germany fascism was being eradicated to the tune of a hundred thousand Americans. We had stopped the forces of fascism on foreign battlefields but behind our backs and within our ranks the same evil, decorated deceivingly with the Stars and Stripes and "Oh Say Can You See," went militantly forward under the generalship of Hitlers with American names and Nazi hearts.

(We know, Brother, they're crackpots; they're harmless. About as harmless as that crazy little crackpot who set the world afire and killed your pal at Salerno. Crackpots, with a booby-trap for democracy.)

There was something else that we hoped might have changed after a couple years of war. It's not very important, but we hoped that the newspapers and the radio commentators and the national mind had been tempered.

Some of us remember the January newspapers which reached us in March on the Anzio beachhead. We had been stopped cold by the Germans and they were giving us hell 24 hours a day with their heavy guns that could reach every inch of the beachhead. The two-month-old newspapers, in the largest type available, screamed triumphantly: "Great Allied Victory in Italy." And the accompanying article told of the landing at Anzio. We read it a couple of times to make sure the story was about the same beachhead.

The great offensive in France began shortly after we returned. It was a headline writer's field day. The war was won in every edition—in the headlines. The radio commentators predicted the end of Germany in a matter of days. They breathlessly announced that the last escape route of an entire German army had been cut—and subsequently the bulk of the German army's armor was revealed to have escaped. In describing the German armies they used such spectacular adjectives as "disintegrated, reeling, crushed," and their every syllable hinted at total victory on the morrow. We looked at the maps, recalled a few experiences with other "reeling" German armies and wondered.

Victory was everywhere in the air. Night clubs and department stores announced elaborate "V-Day" preparations. Blood banks were empty and production slumped. The most popular expression of the day was, "It's all over but the shoutin'."

(Don't stick that bayonet in my belly, Heinie! It's all over. All over—but the shoutin'.)

Yes, it was a strange land indeed that some of us came back to. We've changed, but "home" is the same. "How does it feel to be home?"

"It feels great. It's wonderful." After all, there are still the steaks and the strawberry sundaes and the soft white beds.

JOE FROMM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

FDR's Treaty Strategy

WASHINGTON has given the Crimean conference a thoughtful and cautious, rather than enthusiastic, endorsement. Probably that is the best reception possible. Mr. Roosevelt is a broker, and now has to sell the bargain he has driven with Churchill and Stalin to his own people and the Senate. Woodrow Wilson had already bogged down at this point. Roosevelt, guided by Wilson's mistakes—and his own fast footwork—still has the nation with him. It's a lot to say.

He has done two astute things. Sending Jimmy Byrnes back by fastest airplane to explain matters to the eager but suspicious Washington press was the first. Mr. Byrnes did a fine job. He traveled 4,000-odd miles in two days to tell reporters that, had they been present at Yalta, they would have been proud of their President. Most reporters went away convinced. I can think of few men better fitted by character and position to do this than Byrnes.

Second, Roosevelt put out his eight-member list of delegates to San Francisco so fast that he did not even wait for their consent. We got the list as we went out from the Byrnes press conference. Mr. Roosevelt undoubtedly wanted to show the country that this is a bi-partisan affair. From what I hear, Mr. Vandenberg is pretty certain to accept the invitation. I have tried to emphasize the key position which Vandenberg (and his bloc) hold for treaty-ratification because of the two-thirds rule. He has, I think, veto power over the treaty. Mr. Roosevelt has put him smack on the delegation, right at the start. If he can sell Vandenberg, he can sell the Senate.

The choice of Stassen may mean that if Roosevelt can't be followed in office by a Democrat, he has picked his presidential successor on the Republican side. As I line them up, despite misgivings about some of his actions as Governor of Minnesota, Stassen is the best of the GOP lot; to date, in any event, his record is aggressive-progressive. Whether deliberately or not (and I bet it's deliberate), Roosevelt is giving the Republican liberal wing a big build-up.

My expectation that a successful Big Three conference would be followed immediately by a United Nations meeting is, of course, now fulfilled. The swift schedule calls for a treaty bringing the United States into the new world-security organization, to be sent at once to the Senate after the next hurdle—the San Francisco parley—is out of the way. Mr. Roosevelt has acted fast since election. He is cashing in his mandate while he has it. He will be well advised if he makes a full report as soon as he returns.

This column is nothing if not modest. But let it be blushingly acknowledged that we *did* write a fortnight ago: "Iwo Jima is in the Volcanic Isles. If you're interested, it might pay you to look it up: it's on the short-cut line to Tokyo itself." We added that America isn't apt to land massive armies on China itself; landings there will be primarily for air support. "Our part will be to hit Japan direct . . . establish air supremacy over the Japanese mainland. The combined prospect is for a terrific bombing. The climax will be an amphibious landing on Japan itself."

That still looks good to us, and maybe you will pay attention next time. China is all right as a base for big bombers, but precision bombers—to knock out specific Jap factories—are smaller; they need a base within reach of Jap main islands. To hold Iwo Jima will involve a long, daily battle constantly sustained by naval power. But it points to an ultimate amphibious landing on Japan. Incidentally, Russia is likely to come in. As well informed Ernest K. Lindley writes in *Newsweek*: "Top-ranking American strategists have never doubted that before the end of this war Japanese and Russians would fight each other." The real question is—when?

With Harry Hopkins, Judge Rosenman and Mr. Roosevelt in Europe as this is written, some big showdown decision on civilian supplies to liberated areas is brewing. Britain has recently sent Richard K. Law, and France, Jean Monnet, to Washington to plead for more goods and shipping. United States military say the ships can't be spared; but the truth seems to be they can be squeezed out, and that not the war, but the peace afterwards, is endangered by perpetuating the present desperation. Here are two unpalatable facts: Every "liberated" country today is worse off, economically, than under Germany; the United States is the one great country whose living standard has been improved by war. I understand we promised France 6 ships and civilian supplies in January, 10 in February, 10 more in March—and that so far only 8 have docked. There is a direct correlation between the amount of meat and sugar Americans forgo and what Europe gets. Without ships and support, UNRRA has bogged down. This thing is moving to a climax.

At the moment it looks as though the Mexican water treaty might win ratification. It's a test of our Good Neighbor Policy, of our ability to pass treaties. The treaty would give Mexico a share of the Colorado River water. Now this is the last water-hole in the southwest corner of the country, the end, in fact, of a vital raw resource. In miniature, this is a test of what America does when faced with a problem the Germans call *Lebensraum*, the Japanese, East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Ratification of the treaty now won't hurt Los Angeles, San Diego, Hollywood, etc. (which are pumping water 260 miles over the mountains) but it might block further development years hence: a thought which infuriates local chambers of commerce. So American altruism meets a practical test. Fortunately for everybody, the selfish interests of more states aren't affected.

Notes. – The poll tax is on the way out: now is the time to hit it: the *Southern Planter*, oldest farm journal in America, published in the home of the Byrd political machine, declares the requirement "in Virginia is doomed, just as surely as day follows darkness." . . . There are recent signs of liberal ferment in the South: the anti-racism editorial in the William and Mary student publication; the vote to repeal "Jim Crow" laws in the Maryland Senate; the bold speech of Mark Ethridge, *Louisville Courier-Journal* editor, at Atlanta, denouncing George, Byrd,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bailey, McKellar and Connally as "Southern reactionaries." . . . The Pearson-Pegler libel suit should be a honey; newspapermen know that libel suits for $1,000,000 are publicity stunts; those for $50,000 (like Pearson's against Pegler) generally mean business. . . . The row over Wallace's confirmation (which is now expected) may have been worth it in centering attention on the full-employment issue; preliminary votes again show the power of the GOP-Poll Tax Coalition. . . . McKellar's fight against Aubrey Williams to head the REA is interpreted by some as designed to forestall Roosevelt's reappointment of Lilienthal to head the TVA; but FDR would stultify himself by dropping Lilienthal, as some advisers urge.

Washington T. R. B.

Life Is a Dream

Hope for the Best, by William McCleery. Fulton Theatre, February 6, 1945.
One-Man Show, by Ruth Goodman and Augustus Goetz. Ethel Barrymore Theatre, February 8, 1945.

WE HAVE HERE for examination two ventures that command a certain attention, one because an actor, Mr. Franchot Tone, who is really an actor, thought it worth while to participate and take a chance with it, and one because a producer of parts, intelligent, not thoroughly trained in the theatre but gifted and brilliant, Mr. Jed Harris, set forth to present it as worth seeing, worth giving a chance to, as business of course, and as theatre art. In both the plays thus undertaken the same defect is apparent.

The defect in "Hope for the Best" and in "One-Man Show" is the lack of genuine theatre structure and progression, the lack of that precision which marks a theatre work as distinguished from novels and from general writing-tosh as practised so widely in our midst.

At this point a gentle word should be said for our theatre. We may well ask why, in a country where the press and the radio and many of the Washington handouts to the press are merely pap, baby talk, evasion or sheer flat lies, in a country where if you get your right commentator on the radio you will find us winning the war every day for two years or so, why should the theatre have an integrity, a conscience, a drive and an exactitude that are almost apart in the national art-economy? No need to bother about that. The theatre does not; for the most part it is almost beneath notice, morally, technically, intellectually and glandularly. But with the war on, it can sell its wares, and the mentality involved is that of taxi-drivers in bad weather: you can take it or leave it. Many take it, what with transients, soldiers, people with dinner-party guests who were exhausted when they came to dinner and tight when they left it, and idiotic reviews, passing for criticism and intended to be quoted (and are quoted in the advertisements), and so it all ends in chaos, and the question remains as to whether or not a public that accepts all this, or relaxes within it, does not deserve the whole set-up. There is a French proverb about stupid spectators getting the stupid actors, though in French it is more direct and thorough than that. What the proverb really says is that for the stupid actors God provides the stupid spectators. Masses may have votes, but may or may not have taste and judgment.

Two directions present themselves here, both distinct, both accessible. There is Miss Mae West, with her thesis, dull as it is and monotonous as it proves in her theatre, of "Come up and see me some time." She has very small variations on that motif, but on the stage she plants, projects and hammers in the momentary theme, she never misses a thing, she never pretends that any of it is real or living or art, presents it for itself: good, raw theatre. Whatever we may say about that, it is at least theatre. The other direction involves the force and stress of genuine conviction or passionate idea; its stamp inevitably appears because of the force of its inception and the libido of its issue in a work of art. In this description come people like Ibsen, Strindberg and Eugene O'Neill, whatever their individual differences. The point of all this, then, is that you write either as a theatre artist, or salesman frankly, with all the needs of your craft in evidence, or else you write as one busy with his own desire of generation within the theatre body, moving by his own impulse and clear by his own fire.

"Hope for the Best," by Mr. William McCleery, editor of the Sunday Magazine section of *PM*, has a good story within it, the idea of a popular columnist turning his mind toward matters closer to our necessary life, political and human in a wider sense. To a considerable extent the change is brought about by an exchange of love ladies. It remains to a large extent only a story. The dramatic junctures and climactic resolutions are soft and sweetish, and the impression is one of a love story in a magazine. Against this sort of thing our actors struggle to project something that both belongs and does not belong to the matter; they battle with literary fiction where stage fiction, with its special functions and technical projections, is required. Thus it happens that Mr. Franchot Tone, one of our best actors, successful in the moving pictures, is wasting his theatre time trying to make a distinct theatre pattern out of what is only mildly theatre. He ends by being merely the right man in the wrong place. Miss Jane Wyatt presents a charming heroine in a love story, acted with sincerity and sweetness. The rest of the company, too, are good, and there we are.

"One-Man Show" has the theme of a father and daughter whose relations verge on the Freudian. He and she for years have run an art dealer's gallery; she is pretty and has not been unwilling to flirt a little to forward the picture sale. In the last act we see the father taking dark means indeed to prevent her marrying away from him. His words and his acts go black and poisonous under our very eyes, and things we had taken, or been led to take, as fairly simple are suddenly evil, Freudian and ominous, as well as being crucial if considered as dramatic motifs. Up to this last act, however, we have let one motif after another pass without much suspicion, and the final reckoning is possible but not persuasive. We have not been prepared to be surprised into a diseased recognition, nor have we been led to expect such complexity and harassment in relationships. How much this is due to the writing of the play itself, to the acting or the directing, is a subject to ponder if you think it worth while.

For this situation Mr. Stewart Chaney has provided a very handsome setting, and the clothes of the heroine do credit to Valentina and Elizabeth Arden. The heroine, Miss Constance Cummings, has improved greatly during her absence in London. Her playing is better and her voice has become a lovely medium, flexible and charming. Her acting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could be better judged in a role genuinely and basically conceived and written. Mr. James Rennie as the rich rotten suitor, due to wreck one's happiness within a year, Mr. Frank Conroy as the father—often unintelligible as to speech but forceful—and Mr. Francis Archer as the lover who carries Miss Cummings off from the Freudian ties, all play well. Such roles as written prevent the mind from going any further in what they might be, and bring us home again to the comfortably banal, fictional and easily misunderstood.

STARK YOUNG

Crime Does Pay

THE FOUR murder films—"Hangover Square," "The Ministry of Fear," "The Woman in the Window" and "The Suspect"—are clever, entertaining, cynical about murder and the law, and unnecessarily cruel. One of the major drives in these films is to pulverize you with anxiety by putting the hero through an endless number of life-threatening situations. I think this wish to scare the audience and keep it in a constant state of horror has been used in every recent murder film I've seen to an unjustified extent, and with a good deal of deliberate cruelty on the part of writers and directors. Less important than the possible sadism involved is the fact that the movies get overloaded with scare devices to the point where they seem more like comic opera than is good for them. The need to suggest evil at every turn leads to such moments as the one in "Hangover Square" in which a close-up of the hero's hands, innocently cleaning up some stains on his coat, is used to suggest the murder those hands are capable of.

All of these films are dominantly playing at crime as well as dabbling in some questionable moral attitudes. "The Suspect" projects a two-time murderer as a thoroughly good and happy character before, during and after his crimes. Its condoning of his first murder—of an awful, nagging wife—is a radical enough moral attitude to call for more argument than it gets in the film. The second murder—of an ineffectual blackmailer—is also condoned in what seems to me an even more cold-blooded way, and has so little motive that both the action and the leniency toward it seem fruitless. "The Ministry of Fear" tosses off the idea of mercy-killing as lightly as if it were examining the putting of a penny in a nickel slot machine, but its failure to look with any concern at the fact is part of its general lack of love for anything except what is suspense-making. Like all of these films, "The Woman in the Window" presents the murderer as a gentle, well meaning, law-abiding person. It shows him killing in self-defense, having no doubts about it, and worse, attempting to keep the murder secret; the movie then takes it all back by showing that it was a dream. That only adds one more unpleasant trick to the movie's heavy supply, and adds nothing to its puny argument for murder in self-defense and for distrust of the law.

The mystery film is sometimes thought—I think wrongly—to be a form in which Hollywood is more realistic, spade-calling and unrestricted than it is in Westerns, bedroom farces, epics and other forms. The photography in "The Suspect" and "The Ministry of Fear," which isn't watered down or velvety in texture, is good as compared to current Hollywood standards, and the sets are above the average in favoring accuracy over vagueness. The characters, though, are allowed to roll around as incredibly and easily in evil as other movie characters roll around in goodness. All the mysteries that I've seen in recent years restrict themselves to a trashy showing of the murder, the plight of the murderer, a bit of his virility and of his love life. They show much less of the relationship of his crime to his environment and to other people, and less of himself, than such films as "I Am a Fugitive" or "Public Enemy," which weren't "American Tragedy's" for thoroughness themselves. The current crime films are far less daring than the old gangster pictures in what they say, and they are alarmingly short on spontaneity or originality. They seem to me very mechanical, cautious and petty.

"The Suspect" is my favorite of these new films because it has tried to create character and to rework its ideas—which have been done before by Hitchcock, von Stroheim and pre-Nazi German movies—with the most vivacity. It does a canny, human job in getting across the purity of the hero's humility and generosity, and does equally well in making his successful marriage to a girl half his age and several times better looking seem both possible and happy in an adult way. The "moods" of the composer in "Hangover Square," which are caused by discordant sounds and lead to his killing people and then burning them, are realized in a good, painful way by some eardrum-cracking music and some good grimacing on the part of the composer, and it deals efficiently enough with trite material. "The Ministry of Fear" and "The Woman in the Window" are both directed by Fritz Lang, use the same self-conscious, over-emphatic villain, Dan Duryea, and are filled with blank people.

MANNY FARBER

Radio Revisited

FOR ANYONE INTERESTED in the radio as a social force, as an important means of information and entertainment, the present situation is disconcerting. Radio is certainly getting no better, and many people believe it is getting worse. The high hopes which were held a quarter of a century ago, when broadcasting was born, have been gravely disappointed. The radio has become increasingly a device to sell goods by any means, fair or foul, while the question of usefulness to the public is more and more neglected.

Many writers have commented on the overwhelming conservatism of radio as a whole, its reluctance to give representation to unpopular causes, its anti-labor bias. It may be, as Messrs. Corwin and Reitman suggest in the *New Republic* of February 12, that the men in charge of radio now feel they have gone too far, and are swinging the other way. In these notes I do not propose to discuss radio's general conservative editorial policy, but the degree to which it is prostituted to a commercial purpose partly incompatible with the public interest.

For the present situation there are several reasons. The advertising business in the United States is booming just now, not only because of the desire of the public to buy all sorts of consumer goods but also because many big firms prefer to spend money in advertising rather than pay it in taxes. As a result, the amount of time available for non-commercial "sustaining" programs is down almost to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vanishing point; the majority of such programs are either canceled entirely or relegated to bad listening time when they have practically no audience. Certainly sustaining programs are not often the most popular, but they are the ones that are most likely to have at least some pretension of being in the public interest.

Moreover, with the passage of time, advertisers have become more expert and more unscrupulous in shaping programs to their own special interest, the selling of goods. The public is not always aware that the radio station has nothing to do with the preparation of the sponsored program, which is nowadays entirely a matter between the advertiser and his agent; the station provides only the time and the technical facilities. In the beginning, the advertiser felt a little like someone who had underwritten a theatrical performance or a concert, and was satisfied to let his name appear modestly at the opening and close. Today, all that is changed. He has hired psychologists who tell him that the important thing is for the listener to remember the name of the product, no matter in what frame of reference; some of these experts even argue that to make the listener angry is about as effective as anything else.

Although some of the better stations try to limit the length and number of advertising commercials, regulation of a buyer by a seller is never very effective. In reality the advertiser is limited only by his own standards of good taste, and unluckily in all too many cases, he hasn't any. If there are as many as five important advertisers on the air whose commercials are not obnoxiously long and frequent, this faithful listener does not know who they are. There are almost never fewer than three commercials in a 15-minute program and sometimes more.

Trying to squeeze out as much revenue as possible, radio stations some time ago began selling what are called "hitch-hikers" and "cow-catchers"—brief advertising announcements just after the end of one long program, or just before the beginning of another. Since the sponsors of these long programs also begin and end with advertising, the unhappy listener gets four commercials in a row, describing four different products, on the hour and half-hour. Many such announcements are offensive because of the nature of the product described, the dishonest claims made for it, or both. R. M. Cunningham recently wrote in the *New Republic* about some of the exaggerated advertising heard in the realm of health ("Medicine Men of the Air," October 23). Just as serious is the question of vulgarity, inanity and the waste of the time which might be filled with material genuinely useful to the listener. Even the most popular shows on the air, those of comedians like Bob Hope and Jack Benny, are marred by advertising commercials of dubious taste and in many cases dubious honesty.

Many persons undoubtedly agree with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that it is outrageous for news broadcasts regarding heroic achievements of American arms in battle, with the sacrifice of many American lives, to be interrupted with commercial announcements, or preceded and followed by announcements of laxatives or toothpaste. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* station, KSD, has forbidden "middle commercials" and selects with great care the advertiser who is permitted to sponsor the news. WJR, Detroit, WIBC, Indianapolis, and WMFM and WTMJ, Milwaukee, have taken similar action.

Even the owners of radio stations are at last getting worried about the unfavorable public reaction to too much and too obnoxious advertising. The advertisers of course will never mend their ways until sales fall off; and since the public nowadays buys practically everything it can get its hands on, no matter how vulgarly exploited, that day is probably far distant. Both NBC and CBS have now forbidden hitch-hikers and cow-catchers. WABC, New York, permits no "spots" between longer programs, except time announcements sponsored by a watchmaker. WJZ is about to do the same thing, from 8:30 a.m. to midnight, and a few other stations of the Blue Network follow the rule during the popular evening hours. WQXR, New York, has halted the "singing commercial," perhaps the most obnoxious single aspect of radio at the present time. WWJ, Detroit, has forbidden transcribed announcements, which, coming to the station mechanically recorded, cannot be edited or altered.

Radio managers are watching with interest the career of CKEY, Toronto, formerly CKCL. This station has declared war on the program written and produced by the advertiser. Instead, the station does its own producing; if the advertiser wants to buy time, he is limited to a few brief, rigidly censored announcements in the course of a program which otherwise belongs entirely to the station. The manager of CKEY, Mr. Jack Cooke, is apparently almost the only man in radio to discover that when you are in a mood to listen to music, you want, not 15 minutes, but at least an hour or two of the same kind, with as little interruption as possible. As a result of this sensible policy, CKEY's listeners have quadrupled in a few months, its advertising revenue has doubled, the station is reported to be rolling in money, and the other Toronto stations are worried.

Even more hopeful is the new idea called by its progenitor, William Benton, "Subscription Radio," but destined no doubt to be identified as "pig-squeal radio." Mr. Benton has applied to the FCC for three frequency-modulation channels in New York City. Over them he proposes to broadcast three programs simultaneously. One will be the best serious music, 24 hours a day; one, popular music 24 hours a day; one, news, informative lectures, important public events, or rebroadcasts of the best things presented by other stations, 16 or 18 hours a day. On none of these programs will there be any advertising whatever, at any time, of any character. Each program will be accompanied by an annoying shrill sound (hence the term, "pig-squeal"). The listener who wants it will be rented a small attachment which removes the noise; and for this service he will pay a modest fee, not more than five cents a day and probably only two or three cents. A public-opinion poll in New York found that 37 percent of the radio listeners polled were panting with eagerness to pay any price, up to $18 or $20 per year, to hear good radio programs without advertising. This writer has explained the new plan to dozens of people, and has never yet found one who did not want to subscribe. If one in 80 of the present set owners would do so, the plan would make money. If the FCC members fail to grant the channels for this enterprise, they are in imminent danger from a band of enraged listeners who will march on Washington and throttle them with their bare hands.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is perhaps time for the whole situation of radio in our culture to be reconsidered. The United States is almost the only great nation on earth which permits the homes of its citizens to be invaded by vulgar and often false claims of private individuals and corporations seeking to make money. This is not necessarily an argument in favor of government-owned radio, which has its own disadvantages; but it does suggest that our solution is not perfect. While there are a few radio advertisers who appeal to people of taste and discrimination, at least 75 percent of all commercially used time on the air is admittedly intended for people with 10 or 12-year-old minds. Competent psychologists have expressed concern over the effect of soap operas on listeners of low intelligence, who prove repeatedly by their letters to stations that they are unable to distinguish fiction from truth, and lovingly bake cakes for mythical characters, or knit baby-garments for nonexistent infants. There is some question, moreover, about the effect of the late-afternoon blood-and-thunder adventure serials on the children for whom they are designed.

Many men in radio say frankly that they don't want the small minority of intelligent people to listen; but if they confine their audience to the 10-year-old minds they may have cause to regret it. They will have cut themselves off, for example, from the level of most members of Congress, some of whom are beginning to realize that the United States has made a gift of many hundreds of millions of dollars to an industry which does precious little to deserve it. Several little-known stations in New York City have recently been sold for sums in the neighborhood of a million dollars each; one of them, for nearly two million. In each of these cases, all but a couple of hundred thousand dollars, to cover physical plant and a modest investment in good will, is the value of the cleared channel, a straight gift from Uncle Sam.

The official theory of the industry is that the American people just love advertising, and can't get enough of it; but no independent agency has ever tried to find out whether this is true. The 37 percent in New York City who would pay substantially to avoid it are certainly in a different frame of mind. Our soldiers abroad get American programs with the commercials omitted, and there is a growing fear among radio men that when they come home, they may object to a resumption of advertising. According to *Variety*, one sponsor is now refusing to have his programs aired to men overseas, with just this thought in mind. We know of an American warship in the North Atlantic whose crew, able to tune British and American stations equally well, invariably takes the British, except for one or two hours a week when the top American comedians are available.

Lewis Gannett, book critic of the *New York Herald Tribune*, has just returned from a few months' tour of duty as a war correspondent on the western front. Writing in *This Week* magazine for February 18, he says: "The aspect of home-front life which most disgusted me on return was the radio. BBC programs may be dull and army radio programs may be shallow, but if the soldier in Europe has had a chance to hear the radio at all, he has heard it straight, without the neurotic [advertising] twaddle which punctuates virtually every American program. The first evening that I sat by a radio at home . . . [I heard] one long parade of headaches, coughs, aching muscles, stained teeth, 'unpleasant full feeling' and gastric hyperacidity. . . . Our radio evenings are a sick parade of sicknesses and if they haven't yet made us a sick nation, I wonder why."

This was the impression made on Mr. Gannett after a few months' absence; some of our fighting men have been away three years. It will be interesting to see what happens when they come home and again have to take the bitter with the sweet. And in the meantime, those of us who listen will continue to be in for a lot of punishment.

LISTENER

The Bandwagon

Charles W. Frascotti of Milford, Massachusetts, State Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, protested today against accepting blood from Americans of Japanese ancestry after a group of relocated Nisei donated blood last night to the Red Cross. . . . Mr. Frascotti is Custodian of Schools in Milford. – *From the* New York Times.

Both [Connecticut State Democratic Chairman and Senate Democratic Leader] said they were confident that the views of the admiral on foreign policy would be acceptable, pointing to his participation in three wars. – *From a story on Governor Baldwin's appointment of Admiral Thomas C. Hart to the United States Senate in the* New York Herald Tribune.

Blues in the Night

LOVE SEAT—Makes into a bed; used only three times. Price $25. 129 California Ave., New Milford. – *Classified advertisement in the* Bergen Evening Record *(Hackensack, N. J.).*

Task Force

The court also convicted Sansweet of working soldiers at his home here during duty hours, issuing furloughs to two enlisted men to go to Brooklyn to get him two automobile tires, failure to pay for the tires and accepting a paint job on his automobile, as a gift from enlisted personnel. – *AP dispatch from Tampa, Florida, on the court-martial of Major Samuel Sansweet of the Third Air Force.*

Perish Forbid!

Secretary of Commerce Wallace may get control of the vast Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its numerous subsidiaries. And fears are that he, being labor-minded and sponsored, will find ways to convert government-owned war plants to post-war civilian-goods production. – *Lou Schneider's syndicated column, in the Dayton* Daily News.

Oops—Sorry!

One hundred thousand German troops pocketed in western French ports along the former Atlantic Wall get better mail service than the American forces who, with French units, are besieging them. They receive mail deliveries from Germany four or five times a week by plane. When they needed a throat specialist, one was parachuted to them, but he proved to be of no use because his parachute did not open. – *From the* New York Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Federal Aid to Education

SIR: The bill introduced by Senators Hill of Alabama and Thomas of Utah to provide $300 million for federal aid to education is a necessary and forward-looking measure because it will help to make our children better educated and therefore better able to discharge their political duties as citizens and their economic duties as producers.

The Southern states tend to have the highest birth rate, yet they have the lowest per-capita income. Consequently they spend only about one-third as much per child for education, even for white children, as the national average. The bill would partially remedy this by providing that part of the federal funds be distributed in greater proportion to those states where the income is less than the national verage.

Negro children in most states which have separate schools get a still smaller sum for education, because of racial discrimination. The bill would reduce this injustice by forbidding those states which maintain separate schools to spend a smaller proportion of federal funds for the education of Negro children than the amount to which their proportion to the number of children in the whole population entitles them.

In some states the proportion of men rejected in the draft for lack of a minimum education was from seven to ten percent. Since the proportion of Negroes rejected for this reason was higher than the proportion of whites in all the Southern states except Tennessee, it is obvious that the white man is forced to pay with blood for the anti-Negro prejudice which discriminates by denying to Negroes a fair proportion of the funds raised for education in some Southern states.

CONSUELO C. YOUNG,
Publicity and Promotion Director,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York City

After Franco Falls

SIR: I have read your editorial paragraph on Spain [the *New Republic*, February 5] with interest, regretting, however, the partiality or lack of objectivity of its writer. The following paragraph from a letter of a well known Barcelona University professor, now teaching in the Universidad Nacional of Mexico City, reflects the point of view of the majority of Spanish exiles —particularly those from Catalonia—who never had much to do with politics in their country.

"The old politicians," writes my friend, "who are nothing else but museum pieces, tourists of the emigration, inept and often corrupt, shall be swept away by new men in Catalonia and the whole of Spain—men forged in suffering, anguish and sacrifice. . . . Catalonia shall be what she wants to be the very day of her liberation without electoral trickery or the chicanery of the old politics."

Forest Hills, N. Y. J. VENTURA SUREDA

[Señor Ventura presumably means that only those people who have remained in Spain will have a role to play in the reconstruction of that country. We are not at all sure that this is true; many recent reports indicate the contrary. In any case, the Republican parties in exile have repeatedly declared that elections should be held as soon as possible after the fall of Franco. Despite the defeatism of Señor Ventura's friend, which he seems to endorse, we are confident that these elections will express the will of both Catalonia and the rest of Spain. – THE EDITORS]

Coal Mining in Britain

SIR: T. R. B. is usually so accurate that I was surprised to find him saying that Britain extracts coal "by pick, shovel and pony cart." I have no recent reports at hand, but machinery was widely used both for cutting coal and transporting coal in Britain when I worked in the British mines a little more than 30 years ago.

Another side of the comparison between the United States and Britain would be the much higher accident and death rate in the American mines. Certainly American mines are more mechanized, but the contrast is not as great as T. R. B. would suggest. They have smaller veins to exploit and smaller areas.

MARK STARR,
New York City Educational Director, ILGWU

SIR: I agree with much of what Mark Starr says. It's a question of emphasis: relatively, the British mines are not mechanized, by American standards. They have smaller veins, smaller areas and lower accident rates.

Washington, D. C. T. R. B.

Race Prejudice and the Ten-Year-Olds

SIR: We have a little problem here that we would like to present to you. One Saturday afternoon a Negro boy in our class was going to visit a white boy in our class and upon arriving at the house where the white boy lived, was told that he could not ride in the elevator and must walk up the back stairs just because he was a Negro. The next day at school the white boy told the class what had happened and since we were studying the discrimination of race we decided to do something about it. We urge you to help push the Ives bill [the anti-discrimination bill now before the New York Legislature] through because it represents just the type of thing we are working for—democracy and the equality of the people.

SONIA DORWITT,
on behalf of the 10-year-olds,
New York City Little Red Schoolhouse

From The New Republic Mail Bag

A rally for Henry A. Wallace and postwar full employment will be held Monday evening, February 26, at 8 p.m., in Town Hall, New York City. The principal speaker will be Leon Henderson, and other speakers include the newly elected Representative from Connecticut, Mrs. Chase G. Woodhouse, Emil Rieve, Sam Shore, Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet and Channing Tobias.

Jacqueline Steiner of Cambridge, Massachusetts, objects to the *New Republic's* choice of poetry as evidenced by Frederick Ebright's "Music for a Scenario" [February 5, 1945] and May Sarton's "Trouble in Cambridge" [August 28, 1944]. Miss Steiner feels these poems exemplify the "either/or" fallacy, an inability to see things in terms other than all black and all white. She says: "Isn't it about time some of our poets grew up, stopped moralizing so freely, and saw that things are just a little more complex, a little less rigid, and just a bit harder to describe than they dream of in their philosophies?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There's great new fiction at Viking!

The novel of a woman doctor helplessly in love within the walled life of a hospital

Between two dawns, the personal destinies of the staff members at Yeoman's Hospital had reached a climax. Within that strangely isolated world, a drama of love and ambition was being acted out. That drama Miss Ashton has vividly captured in this intriguing story of an English hospital. $2.50

HELEN ASHTON

Yeoman's Hospital

The lives of three who offered the gift of love

These radiantly fresh and imaginative stories are linked by the theme of love—the love of the generous and strong that stretches the horizon of all it touches. $2.00

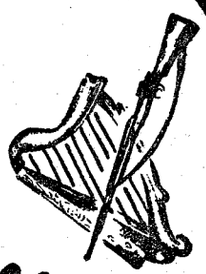
Edita Morris

THREE WHO LOVED

by the author of *My Darling From the Lions*

An exciting novel—as Irish as shamrocks and revolt

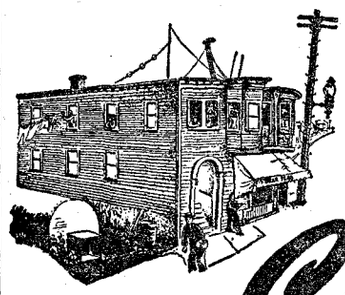
In an intensely dramatic atmosphere, Jim Phelan tells the story of a young Oxford man who found his destiny in Ireland—love and a cause for which he had to fight. $2.50



Jim Phelan

Banshee Harvest

"One of the most thoroughly enjoyable and delicious books you'll ever have the fortune to read."—A. C. SPECTORSKY, *Chicago Sun.*



JOHN STEINBECK'S new novel is "bitter and uproariously funny . . . Under its sentimental and pleasant exterior the book cuts deeper than either *Grapes of Wrath* or *Moon Is Down.*"—GERALD W. JOHNSON, *N. Y. Herald Tribune.* "Steinbeck's most satisfactory book . . . the one I have most enjoyed reading."—EDMUND WILSON, *The New Yorker.* $2.00

Cannery Row

20th Anniversary Year

THE VIKING PRESS • 18 East 48th Street • New York 17, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

The Death of Liberalism

IN ARNOLD TOYNBEE'S historical scheme the year 1875 marks the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth phase in the life of Western Civilization. Mrs. Lynd places the dividing line a little later, and she concerns herself only with England, but her detailed investigations[1] give strong support to Toynbee's general contention. Mr. Toynbee, with a professional reticence amounting almost to coyness, refuses to say in what direction he thinks we have been moving. Mrs. Lynd, on the other hand, if her subtitle is to be believed, holds that in the eighties we set off "toward a social basis for freedom."

"Detailed" is the word for her researches. Part I describes the economic situation of England in the eighties, traces the currents of ideas and deals with such "intruding events" as the prolonged depression, the land question and the Irish question. Part II analyzes political parties, labor organizations, religious institutions, educational institutions and revolutionary groups. Mrs. Lynd relies heavily on quotations from contemporary sources, and the whole scholarly apparatus is rather overwhelming. Her pace is deliberate, but she does cover the ground.

In addition to its considerable value as a reference work, *England in the Eighteen Eighties* has a special significance at this time. In a not unnatural revulsion from totalitarianism, certain contemporaries have begun to preach neo-liberalism. These neo-liberals—F. A. Hayek is currently the most conspicuous—assume or even flatly say that the nations were seduced from the true path by the sophistries of wily heretics. What really happened, as Mrs. Lynd conclusively shows, is that economic liberalism was destroyed by the class that had most ecstatically embraced its doctrines. The pioneer monopolies of the eighties were created not by theoretical collectivists but by ardent believers in laissez-faire, and the doctrine of free trade was attacked by manufacturers, not by radical agitators. What killed liberalism, in short, was liberalism's great doctrine of economic self-interest. Furthermore—and Mrs. Lynd's testimony on this point is particularly significant—the power of the state was extended in violation of liberal theory simply because capitalism would otherwise have broken down. Something had to be done about agricultural labor, about education and about housing, and nothing would have been done if liberal principles had been strictly adhered to. The adherents of liberalism abandoned the ship long before the critics could safely say out loud that there might be a leak.

Indeed, Mrs. Lynd's case is so overwhelming that she seems to make rather too little of the part played by ideas in the changes of the eighties. In her eagerness to show the hold that liberal theory had upon all classes, she underestimates the importance of its Victorian critics. It is true that they were not much listened to, and she does well to let us see how nearly universal was the worship of the "natural laws" of economics, but the interventionist tradition did exist all through the nineteenth century, from Coleridge through Carlyle and Ruskin to Morris, and it furnished the rebels of the eighties and nineties with many of their weapons. Mrs. Lynd says in passing that the interventionists looked back to the Middle Ages, but even this was not wholly a liability, for, as Henry de Man has insisted, many of the most cogent criticisms of capitalism and no small part of working-class feeling against the capitalist class grew out of recollections of pre-capitalist values. If the majority of Englishmen in the eighteen eighties, like the majority of Americans in the nineteen twenties, thought that capitalism had existed from the beginning of time and would go on to time's end, the interventionists at least were not suffering from that illusion, and they found their audience when capitalism ceased to perform miracles.

It was also true that the interventionist tradition had a salutary influence on the anti-capitalist movements of the eighties and nineties. As Mrs. Lynd observes, most opponents of laissez-faire were willing, under Fabian leadership, to settle for the social-welfare state. She shows that they exaggerated the value of some of the reforms they won, and it might be maintained that she herself exaggerates the value of others, as when, for instance, she praises the results of the Education Act without taking into account the emergence of the yellow press. ("The bread of Universal Education," Toynbee writes, "is no sooner cast upon the waters of social life than a shoal of sharks rises from the depths and devours the children's bread under the philanthropist's eyes.") Gains were indubitably made, but they were constantly being negated, and the reformers were lucky if, advancing a foot, they slipped back only eleven inches. Much later Laski was to say that all the eighties accomplished was the "bourgeoisification" of labor, but that was something that William Morris was saying at the time and with greater force. Laski became convinced in the nineteen thirties that the social-welfare state couldn't work; Morris insisted in the eighteen eighties that it would be a calamity if it did work.

Mrs. Lynd pays tribute to Morris, saying that one frequently turns to him "in trying to discover what in the socialism of the eighties still offers a guide to the future." If she does not elaborate the point, one can only grant that it is not easy to clear away all the fanciful and arbitrary elements in Morris' thought. But at least one can say that for him socialism was first and foremost a matter of human decency. It is with such a concept of socialism that Mrs. Lynd deals in her last chapter, writing, as Morris wrote, not of the individual against society nor of society against the individual, but of a mutual enrichment. It is the last chapter that justifies her subtitle. The eighties did not lay a social basis for freedom, but since that decade there has been no excuse for not seeing that that is our task.

GRANVILLE HICKS

[1] England in the Eighteen Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom, by Helen Merrell Lynd. New York: The Oxford University Press. 508 pages. $4.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Toward Peace in Asia

Solution in Asia, by Owen Lattimore. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. 207 pages. $2.

AMONG the almost overwhelming number of Americans who are currently writing about Far Eastern affairs, there is none whose words are more worth listening to than Owen Lattimore. Traveler, scholar, editor, historian and expert adviser to vice-presidents and generalissimos, he is equally adept in high governmental affairs and the theoretical contemplations thereon, and his publishers have justification for saying that his new book "will have a direct effect on the war and the peace, since it will be read in Foreign Offices throughout the world." Since *Solution in Asia* happens to be one of his major works, it is obviously of genuine contemporary importance.

It is one of the greatest compliments that can be paid to *Solution in Asia* to say that it is good enough to make one forgive the suggestion of pompousness that has gone into its title, a pompousness suggesting a self-satisfaction which the book happily does not possess. For Mr. Lattimore is not offering any easy panacea. Nevertheless, his latest work does contribute greatly to American understanding of the grave and world-important problems of the Far East. It is so calm and thoughtful, so provocative and filled with insight and knowledge, so generally illuminating, that it is bound to be of great service in assisting in the development of the sort of intelligent public opinion so necessary if America is to play her part wisely in the postwar world.

If, among the store of wisdom on Far Eastern matters that Mr. Lattimore has to offer, there is one central point, it is that the Orient is a test of democracy for the world, both Eastern and Western. The age of Western imperialism died at Pearl Harbor, Singapore and Hong Kong—that, at least, the Japanese achieved—and hereafter what competition there may be for influence in Eastern lands will be in great part in the realm of ideas. If America's democratic ideas and ideals do not promise a better and fuller life to the awakening peoples of the Orient, if the British and Dutch do not recognize the implications of this awakening, then the appeal of Russian democratic concepts is going to be increasingly great in the East, and it is in this way, and not through melodramatic conspiracy, that the power of the Soviet Union will manifest itself in Oriental lands.

> To all of these peoples [says Mr. Lattimore] the Russians and the Soviet Union have a great power of attraction. In their eyes—rather doubtfully in the eyes of the older generation, more and more clearly in the eyes of the younger generation—the Soviet Union stands for strategic security, economic prosperity, technological progress, miraculous medicine, free education, equality of opportunity, and democracy: a powerful combination. The fact that the Soviet Union also stands for democracy is not to be overlooked. It stands for democracy because it stands for all the other things. Here in America we are in the habit of taking a narrow view of foreign claimants to the status of democracy. If China or Russia or some other alien people does not measure up to the standards of the particular American modification of Anglo-Saxon democracy, we say that it is not democratic. We are going to find ourselves boxing with shadows instead of maneuvering in politics if we stick to the habit.

The Orient, he believes, will be a test not only because of the importance of democracy as a force in "the politics of attraction" which is succeeding the old-time politics of imperialism, but also because what we as a nation do in Asia will have a great bearing on what we do at home. "We must," as Mr. Lattimore puts it, "learn a lesson for which our experience has as yet imperfectly prepared us: the lesson of the closeness with which domestic policy interacts with policy abroad." We cannot have a liberal, democratic foreign policy towards the Far East—or Europe, for that matter—and a reactionary policy at home, any more than we can exist half-slave and half-free. The Willkie concept of One World finds impressive reaffirmation in *Solution in Asia*.

While the Orient represents a democratic test for us, it equally represents one for the East itself, and it is here that the democratic future of China becomes immediately important. If China, as the Eastern nation which has fought for and maintained its independence and gained acceptance as one of the Big Four of the world, does not prove its ability to constitute itself as a democratic country, then it will strike a blow at the democratic concept throughout the Far East and bring satisfaction only to the reactionary forces in the world who long for an opportunity to sneer at that concept.

Being essentially an authority on China, Mr. Lattimore is particularly arresting when he is writing about that country. As former political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek on the recommendation of President Roosevelt, he is one who cannot be dismissed as an easy journalistic dupe of the Reds.

FARRAR & RINEHART, N.Y.

LATIN AMERICA IN THE FUTURE WORLD

By George Soule, David Efron, Norman J. Ness

"ONE of the most solid books we have had on our presently turbulent neighbors . . . It is among the first half dozen in importance to the public. For diplomats, traders, industrialists and others, it is indispensable. Conclusions, but no propaganda."

—*Los Angeles Times*

At all bookstores, $3.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OWEN LATTIMORE

points the road American policy must take
if democracy is to win Asia
and Asia is to win democracy

SOLUTION IN ASIA

Lin Yutang, Edgar Snow, Joseph C. Grew, Brooks Atkinson, Walter Lippmann, Quezon and many others have all had their say about Asiatic affairs. Who is right? What has happened to the government of China? What should we do with the Japanese Emperor? Will our liberal policy in the Philippines redeem us from the stigma of imperialism? Here for the first time Owen Lattimore reveals the interplay of forces in Asia as he has come to know them during twenty-five years of intimate acquaintance with Far Eastern peoples. This book will be read in every Foreign Office. Chiang Kai-shek will hear of it and so will Mao Tse-tung. The Japanese Imperial Diet will excoriate it and cartel magnates will try to dismiss it. Read it and see why.

An Atlantic Monthly Press Book • $2.00

Captain FROM Castile

By SAMUEL SHELLABARGER

"There is a touch of Gil Blas in this extraordinary tale of Spanish conquest in the New World, and a savor of Defoe, and a liberal spicing of Dumas. Yet not in a single instance, from the first chapter to the final triumph... is the author without full command of his own authentic narrative, his style, his characters, and the period he recreates."
—*Boston Globe*

473,360 copies in print,
including Literary Guild • $3.00

JACQUES BARZUN

illuminates the whole question
of our national culture
while probing our educational aims and methods

TEACHER IN AMERICA

One of our most brilliant young philosophers and historians writes a provocative, personal commentary on American teaching. In the course of his wise and witty discussion, he includes a great deal that has needed saying about the individual's role in a democracy.

An Atlantic Monthly Press Book • $3.00

YOU WILL ENJOY READING

THE GREEN YEARS
By Dr. A. J. Cronin
Top National Fiction Best Seller according to the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review, February 18.* $2.50

YANKEE from OLYMPUS
Justice Holmes and His Family
By Catherine Drinker Bowen
An Atlantic Monthly Press Book
$3.00

CITIZEN TOUSSAINT
By Ralph Korngold
$3.00

PREJUDICE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS
Symbol of Racial Intolerance
By Carey McWilliams
$3.00

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY • BOSTON

Howard Fast says THE CROSS AND THE ARROW by Albert Maltz is: "a superb work of art... at once a tale of high adventure and a testimony for mankind." $2.75

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It imparts
a sense of pleasure in life,
in the wonders of the natural world
and its intellectual apprehension
which seems
to have gone out of the modern mind."

—ISABEL PATERSON, *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*

SOUTH AMERICA CALLED THEM

Explorations of the Great Naturalists

LA CONDAMINE • HUMBOLDT
DARWIN • SPRUCE

by

Victor Wolfgang von Hagen

CLIFTON FADIMAN, *Book-of-the-Month Club News:*
"To four scientists, four heroic, tenacious lives, South America—and the world—owes much. These four scientist-explorers . . . opened up South America, wandered over its blank face and down its uncharted rivers, encountered and described its people, its plants, its animals. It was they who introduced a whole continent to the civilized world. Their achievements are celebrated in this lively, enthusiastic, and well-documented book by a man who is himself an ethnologist, and has done considerable South American exploring . . . extremely readable, valuable, and inspiring."

COBURN GILMAN, *Editor, Travel Magazine:*
"The most original and exciting contribution to the literature of South American exploration which I have seen in many years."

With 28 illustrations, chiefly from contemporary prints, and 4 maps.

AT ALL BOOKSHOPS • $3.75
This is a BORZOI BOOK published in New York by
ALFRED A. KNOPF

As a matter of fact, Mr. Lattimore continues to express a high opinion of the Generalissimo, and in telling of the split between the left and right-wing forces in the Revolution of 1927 he is particularly generous to him. It is interesting to note, therefore, that his final verdict on the Chinese Communists is as favorable as that of all the many American reporters who visited Yenan in the summer of 1944. Of the putting into operation by the Communists of the one-in-three system, which limits Communist membership in committees and local governing bodies and the higher councils of the Yenan area to one-third of the total membership, he says: "This is the most positive step yet taken in China by any party away from dictatorship and toward democracy. It confirms the graduation of the Communists from being a perpetual minority opposition party to the status of a party which has good claims to a position within a coalition government."

Mr. Lattimore explains with much insight the process by which the Kuomintang, which once was the party representing all the more modern and progressive forces in China, became a narrow, reactionary clique, dominated by the feudal landlords. As the obverse of that melancholy picture he describes the manner in which the Communists, at one time a narrow and sectarian group, have become not only the most progressive party in China but the one most willing to coöperate with the forces of Western democracy and Chinese middle-of-the-road liberalism.

Permit me to present another quotation from Mr. Lattimore, this time bearing importantly on the future of China:

> When the Japanese are driven out, the political program of the forces which drive them out or follow them up will be of critical importance. . . . If the actual policy put into practice is not one of free political organization and representation, or at the very least a coalition policy representing all major groups, there will be terrible disillusionment and political unrest. In view of all this it is realistic to allow for the fact that the Kuomintang has been weakened by the trend toward landlord domination during the war years, because the landlord interest will instinctively move toward control of the peasants, not toward allowing them political representation, when Occupied China is liberated from the Japanese. Conversely, the coalition trend of the Communists has put them in a strong position to make a bid for wider all giance when, on the heels of the Japanese, their columns march parallel with those of the National Government into recovered territory.

Those who have read, and possibly been impressed by, Lin Yutang's lurid account of the dastardly Red treachery in connection with the fighting that broke out in 1941 between the New Fourth Army and the government troops, may be interested to learn that the New Fourth was not a Communist army, although it did contain Communist elements and had a Communist deputy commander. What happened, Mr. Lattimore reports, was that this army, fighting behind the Japanese lines, relied more and more on organizing the peasants, and war waged in such a manner was not in the landlord interest because "the landlords might return, after the eventual defeat of Japan, only to find that the peasants had become organized so strongly that landlord control could not be reasserted." Hence the Kuomintang attack on the New Fourth Army.

In his comments on Japan Mr. Lattimore brilliantly demolishes the myth that it is in American interest to prop

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up the Mikado or rely on allegedly liberal Japanese businessmen, but he has high hopes for the possibility of educating the Japanese common people, citing the splendid way in which Americans of Japanese ancestry have turned out. It is a fine tribute to our gallant Nisei soldiers, and a deserved one. In his comments on Dutch rule in the East Indies I am inclined to think that he is a little too severe. Anyway, in all its comments, *Solution in Asia* is of the greatest value.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

By Their Own Bootstraps

Brazil on the March: A Study in International Coöperation, by Morris L. Cooke. New York: Whittlesey House. 303 pages. $3.

THE BASIC DEMAND of all people everywhere in the world is that waste and destruction be eliminated. In every country the demand is the same; war and poverty must give way before the constructive utilization of productive forces for human life. The knowledge necessary in order to achieve this far-reaching aim is not to be found in science alone. The problems are social and economic as well as technological. The amalgam, in this time of pioneering, comes from an integration comparable to that made by an artist.

In his book *Brazil on the March,* Morris L. Cooke emerges as the artist-engineer. His canvas is the largest country in this hemisphere. He sees the great expanse, so blank in reality, as it will look when it has been filled with the tools which will make the life of 44 million Brazilians healthy and productive.

Wherever people are, there is work for Cooke and in a long and fruitful life he has found excitement and stimulation in doing that work. Brazil is a unique challenge. She is not only big, she is potentially very rich. As a scientist Cooke inventories the facts of the known wealth, as an artist he visualizes a future where waterfalls are harnessed to kilowatts, forests nurtured to grow fuel. He sees the liabilities; no oil—to Cooke that means growing sugar cane for alcohol. He checks her needs: education and nutrition are deficient. Roadways and railroads are pitifully inadequate. Brazil's traditional pattern, based on booms induced by one agricultural crop, hampers the growth of industry.

But assets outweigh liabilities, in Cooke's estimation. He should know, for with his staff, comprising the American Technical Mission to Brazil, he was able to do a job of compiling facts in a land where the compilation of statistics is far from an advanced science. The Mission was something like a hospital unit, bringing industrial doctors to diagnose a special case. In this sense the book is an industrial case history for an entire country, I think the first of its kind. The doctors found a young giant—ailing in many important respects. They prescribed for the giant. The prescription is largely self-medication. Cooke did not make the mistake of bringing panaceas from the Yankee colossus of the North. He saw that our role, while great, will be one of encouragement. We will not do the planning for Brazil but we can help the planners. We can, having learned more about her needs, create the type of products which Brazilians want rather than those gadget-equipped, expensive,

Brazilian Literature

By ERICO VERISSIMO

This lively outline not only introduces the important literary figures of Brazil, but also reflects her history, philosophy, culture, and social scene. "Precisely the kind of introduction that the average reader needs . . . imaginative, full of humor, informative."—*New York Times Book Review.* $2.00

Brazil

Giant to the South

By ALICE ROGERS HAGER

A unique presentation of Brazil by means of superb photographs and pointed text. Not merely a picture book, it takes up systematically the history, geography, and government of Brazil, her peoples, customs, and cultural achievements. Photographs by Jackie Martin. $2.00

Escape via Berlin

By JOSÉ ANTONIO de AGUIRRE

The former President of the Basque Republic tells of his miraculous escape from the Germans and gives his interpretation of the European scene. "Dr. de Aguirre's powerful plea for a sincere Catholicism which fights for liberty assumes a new importance at this time . . ."—*Saturday Review of Literature.* $3.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oxford Books

FOR THINKING AMERICANS

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEEN-EIGHTIES

TOWARD A SOCIAL BASIS FOR FREEDOM

by Helen Merrell Lynd

"A penetrating and profound study not only of English social history but of the principles of social change in capitalist democracy. It is rare that a book on history reaches so deep and comes up with so much that sheds light on our own plight."
—*Max Lerner.* $4.50

GERMANY BETWEEN TWO WARS

A STUDY OF PROPAGANDA & WAR GUILT

by Lindley Fraser

England's German News Commentator in the European Services of the BBC here conducts a brilliant examination of the German version of the inter-war years, a legend by which the Nazi party sought to influence opinion both at home and abroad. $2.50

CLAIMS TO TERRITORY

IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS

by Norman Hill

A study of the major territorial controversies of the 19th and 20th centuries, with suggestions for handling claims growing out of the Second World War. $3.00

MILITARY OCCUPATION AND THE RULE OF LAW

OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT IN THE RHINELAND, 1918-1923

by Ernst Fraenkel

A discussion of the basic problems of the last Rhineland occupation which offers a key to the situation confronting the Allied Military Government in Germany today. $3.50

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS • 114 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 11

streamlined jobs which are made primarily to sell in this country. We can aid in the training of skilled workers and technicians. We can learn what Cooke calls "etiquette for American investors," so that, while making a profit, we do not infringe on the rights or cherished traditions of Brazilians.

All that is in this book. All of it emanates from a spirit aware of our time. Underlying the whole is an understanding of the social consequences of scientific discoveries which has moved on to the recognition that technology itself is a prime mover in social change. It is too late now to think in terms of adjusting to a single invention. Technology is an entirety and Cooke sees it as such. He picks it up where it is, challenging us by setting out the new tasks of social organization which face every nation. When he glosses over obvious semi-fascist political practices in Brazil, I think he is doing it not because he does not recognize them, but because he thinks the big job now is to get a floor under the productivity of the people and, that done, he feels that the people will be released toward greater freedom. This weakness in the book can be explained also, perhaps, by the fact that the Technical Mission was an official body, which made necessary a sort of diplomatic "good-will" blindness.

These faults are minor compared to the many-faceted vision of the world-to-come, which is so meticulously sketched. Cooke is in the forefront of a group throughout the world who see industrialization as the people's tool. Thirty-four years ago Sir William Ramsay, president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, said, "I plead for recognition of the fact that progress in science does not only consist in accumulating information which may be put to practical use, but in developing a spirit of prevision, in taking thought for the morrow; in attempting to forecast the future, not by vague surmise but by orderly marshaling of facts, and by deducing from them their logical outcome; and chiefly in endeavoring to control conditions which may be utilized for the lasting good of our people." Cooke answers Ramsay's plea and broadens it to include the "lasting good" of *all* the people in the world.

A. G. MEZERIK

Professor Cohen's Logic

A Preface to Logic, by Morris R. Cohen. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 209 pages. $2.50.

TO THE MANY INDIVIDUALS for whom Professor Cohen's lectures or books have provided a stimulus to, as well as an example of, the life of reason, his new work on logic will be a welcome addition to the all too scanty list of his published works. Like its predecessors, *Reason and Nature* and *Law and the Social Order*, the present volume consists of a series of studies rather than a systematic treatise. This does not mean, however, that the chapters of the book are unrelated either as to issues or essential doctrine. On the contrary, Cohen's vigorous and challenging defense of logic as the science of "possible being," his insistence on the objectivity of rational reflection and discourse, and his unrepentant conviction as to the validity of metaphysical generalization and hypothesis, appear as recurrent themes, giving the essays a coherence which belies the apparent diversity of their contents. Cohen's affirmative position thus

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

provides a unified basis for his untiring attacks on the various doctrines of modern positivism and operationalism. In successive chapters he examines such questions as "the subject matter of logic," the "nature of propositions," "meaning and verification," "concepts," "probability" and "value judgments," finding grist for his mill in all of them.

It must be said that Professor Cohen sometimes has the air of a logical Don Quixote attacking nineteenth-century philosophical windmills. He resolutely admonishes those "subjectivists" who, in treating logic as a branch of psychology, ignore the objective thrust of logical "truths." Yet one wonders whether the "modern tradition" of Mill, Lotze, Sigwart and Wundt is not by this time a little "old hat." At any rate, the independence of logic from what used to be called the "mental sciences" is taken largely as a matter of course by such contemporary logicians as Russell, Lewis, Quine and, be it said, most of the positivists themselves. One would search in vain among the works of present-day logicians of the first rank, with perhaps the exception of Dewey, to find an assertion to the effect that logic is "a study of how the mind works in the processes of conception, judgment and inference."

If a considerable portion of Cohen's book is devoted to a flaying of dead issues, the greater part is nothing of the sort. He is at his controversial best in his onslaught against the so-called "verifiability theory" of meaning. As he shows, we must know in advance the meaning of any proposition if we are to know what kind of situation would be relevant to its verification or invalidation. (If Professor Cohen sometimes is guilty of stating the theory as a verifica*tion* rather than a verifiabil*ity* theory, his criticisms for the most part apply to the latter as well as to the former position.) Actually it may be questioned whether the verifiabil*ity* theory does not in the end reduce to the truism that significant ideas must constantly be referred to experience, that knowledge *about* is nothing more than a transcription of, or a generalization from, knowledge of acquaintance. It is not clear, in fact, whether Cohen himself rejects this view, since he apparently accepts Peirce's dictum that any proposition has meaning when, but only when, it has imaginable consequences.

To the present writer, also, Professor Cohen is on firm ground in rejecting those theories of value which regard ethical and esthetic judgments as meaningless on the ground that they are incapable of verification by the use of scientific methods. While rejecting the "vicious absolutism" in ethics which ignores the variability in human desires and ends and hence the inevitable relativity of values, he at the same time defends the significance of ethical judgments which purport to be *about* those ends and the duties which they objectively entail.

The most debatable thesis in Professor Cohen's book, and the least adequately supported, is his contention that logic is a science of necessary relations between "objects" rather than simply the propositions which are *about* those objects. In the first place, Cohen tells us little or nothing about such "objects" other than that they are "possible." But when one persists in asking what on earth he means by a "possible object," one is forced back upon such logical rules as that of non-contradiction itself. This leaves us, unfortunately, just where we were, since it was the application of logical rules themselves which remained in question. In any

"Glueck's fact-packed, lucid book offers a powerful program for action."
—ALBERT DEUTSCH, *PM*

WAR CRIMINALS
Their Prosecution and Punishment
by Sheldon Glueck
Professor of Criminal Law and Criminology, Harvard University

"The first book to undertake to blaze a trail through international law to find the means of trying the war criminals."
—LOUIS M. LYONS, *Boston Globe*

"A thoughtful, well documented, well reasoned book on the basis of which we can rationally bring these men to trial."
—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*

"The most scholarly and comprehensive treatment of this vitally important subject that has yet appeared in the United States."
—CHARLES S. COLLIER, Professor of Law, George Washington University, in the *Washington Star*

"A powerful and searching discussion of one of the outstanding questions of the day."
—HON. HOMER CUMMINGS, former U. S. Attorney General

At all bookshops • $3.00

This is a BORZOI BOOK
published in New York by
ALFRED A. KNOPF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sir William Beveridge

Full Employment in a Free Society

The author of the famous BEVERIDGE REPORT now offers a complete plan for ending unemployment without sacrificing any of the essential liberties of a free society. Specifically discussed are questions relating to the adequate total outlay required for full employment, the controlled location of industry, organized mobility of labor, and necessary changes of government machinery. Everyone who read the earlier plan, everyone interested in social problems, will profit from this clear exposition by one of the world's leading political economists.

At all bookstores $3.75

"BOOKS THAT LIVE" W. W. Norton & Co., 70 5th Ave., N. Y. 11

MOTION PICTURE

NOW RKO

BROOKLYN & QUEENS
ALDEN Jamaica
BUSHWICK
DYKER
Keith's FLUSHING
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
Keith's RICH. HILL
STRAND Far Rockaway
TILYOU

TENSE, THRILLING MELODRAMA!
"Zingy Melodrama and Zingier Romance" —PM

HUMPHREY BOGART
in
ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S
'TO HAVE and HAVE NOT'
ADAPTED FROM THE BEST-SELLING NOVEL
with
LAUREN BACALL • WALTER BRENNAN

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD PRODUCTIONS
UP IN CENTRAL PARK
Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS Lyrics by DOROTHY FIELDS Music by SIGMUND ROMBERG
CENTURY THEATRE, 7th Avenue & 59th Street. Matinees Wed. & Sat.

BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th Street, West of Broadway
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

event, *this* is an independent issue, and neither stands nor falls with the "verifiability theory" of meaning or the "emotive theory" of ethical terms.

Professor Cohen's book will provide encouragement to those who remain faithful to the procedures of logical analysis and scientific method and who are increasingly appalled by the alarming number of defections to the ranks of obscurantism, mysticism and intuitionism. It will also delight those who enjoy the exhilarating spectacle of a courageous and liberal spirit cutting a clear path through the swamps of unreason and absolutism. Of Cohen it may be said, what T. S. Eliot has said of Bradley, that he has an intense addiction to intellectual passion. If, as Cohen maintains, "logic is a necessary element of any liberal education," his own work as a writer and teacher shows that element working toward its end.

HENRY DAVID AIKEN

Way Down

Deep Delta Country, by Harnett T. Kane. American Folkways Series. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 283 pages. $3.

ALONG THE 115 MILES of Mississippi River between New Orleans and the Gulf lies Louisiana's Deep Delta country, land of bayous, of moss-hung oaks and alligator swamps, where mystery scenarists dearly love to locate decaying mansions. Surprisingly enough, the Hollywood props actually exist in this surprising corner of America—including the hungry alligators and not a few decaying mansions, remnants of the lost heyday of the nineteenth-century sugar barons.

Of the score of American Folkways books already published or in preparation under the general editorship of Erskine Caldwell, probably few can match the sheer geographical uniqueness and rich diversity of Old World backgrounds described in this volume. The Father of Waters is literally the father of all the Delta's land, annually depositing millions of tons of silt along his lower banks. Behind the narrow banks of dry land thus built up lie miles of marshes—a maze of waterways which, from the days of the corsair Lafitte to prohibition-era rum-runners, have offered "unrivaled natural facilities for informal dealing."

The unpredictable Mississippi constantly seeks new passages to the Gulf, new mouths, capriciously abandoning old ones. In 1839, high water permanently transformed The Jump from a stream a man could leap over (hence its name) to a passage a quarter-mile wide, sixty feet deep. Along the river—the Delta's gargantuan "main street"—live Americans of an astonishing variety of backgrounds: Frenchmen, Dalmatians, Spaniards, Italians, Negroes, mulattoes, Filipinos, Canary Islanders—and the "Irish," a designation which in the Delta embraces all fair-haired non-Latins, Murphys and Johannesens alike. Harnett T. Kane, author of *The Bayous of Louisiana* and *Louisiana Hayride*, writes of these amphibious people with good-natured fondness and appreciation—their violent history, politics and weather, their pleasures, occupations, food, drink, religion and superstitions. His writing is competent; the colorful subject matter makes it unfailingly interesting.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Delta's famous men are here too: Lafitte; General Beauregard; Judah P. Benjamin, incredible Confederate Secretary of State; James Buchanan Eads, the Henry Kaiser of the Civil War, who built eight ironclads in a hundred days for the federal government, and in 1875 undertook an "impossible" engineering project to clear the Mississippi's mouth of its dangerous sandbars. Eads worked on a "no-cure-no-pay" basis, did the impossible and collected his ten-million-dollar fee. He deserves a book all to himself.

RICHARD MATCH

A Reader's List

LOOKING FOR A BLUEBIRD, by Joseph Wechsberg (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50). Mr. Wechsberg, a native of Prague, has been, among other things, a musician on French steamers, a claqueur at the Vienna Opera, a croupier at Nice, author of Bemelmanish sketches for the *New Yorker* and *Esquire*, recipient of a Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship. *Looking for a Bluebird* is the result: gay, witty pieces which almost always conceal the careful contrivance that makes them click. The seams are so carefully joined that one would never know that his earlier books were banned in Germany, that he has been arrested by the Gestapo and jailed by the Japanese, that he was a lieutenant in the Czechoslovak army in 1938 and is now serving with the United States Army—if the dust jacket weren't obliging. This light-weight book is obviously a testimony to Mr. Wechsberg's sense of humor, but pretty thin for an important award.

THE UKRAINE: A SUBMERGED NATION, by William Henry Chamberlin (Macmillan, $1.75). In an essay which spans Ukrainian history from its early beginnings to the present and largely devotes itself to belaboring Soviet Russia, Chamberlin has created a work which adds remarkably little to what already has been said and written about the Ukraine and Ukrainian nationalism. Historical claims are set down with grave obeisance to the past although they do not seem to have gained either in logic or validity in the recounting. The agony of collectivization is described with timeluce objectivity. It is observed that "the Ukrainians are the most numerous people in Europe without a sovereign state form of organization." Ethnic differences (Russian v. Ukrainian) are mulled over to make it clear that sovereignty is the nostrum to assuage the pains of nationalism in the submerged nation. Chamberlin's conclusion is that if the Soviet state were not the Soviet state and the Ukraine were not a part of that state, it could voluntarily unite with other peoples and be an "indispensable element in a free Europe and in a free world." But the situation being what it is, Chamberlin fearlessly calls for "genuine" federative autonomy and the democratization of the Soviet Union.

FICTION

LOWER THAN ANGELS, by Walter Karig (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.75). Marvin Lang was born around the turn of the century, grew up in Staten Island, guarded a reservoir in the First World War, came home and married. In a superfluous epilogue, dated 1944, his son is called home from the army for Marvin's funeral, just as Marvin had been been called home in 1918 for his father's funeral. Somewhere between *A Tree Grows in Staten Island* and *An American Tragi-Comedy, Lower than Angels* records an average existence in average prose.

BANSHEE HARVEST, by Jim Phelan (Viking, $2.50). Published in England with the less stagey title, *And Blackthorns*, this is a novel about agrarian class conflict in Ireland during

Why is it hard to get a copy of Ernie Pyle's BRAVE MEN

?

WE KNOW that many people are having difficulty obtaining copies of America's No. 1 non-fiction best seller, and we want to explain the situation and suggest a course of action.

By publication day, November 21, 1944, we had shipped 212,736 copies to bookstores against advance orders, and were holding orders for 20,000 more to be shipped in December. This done, we were out of stock many days before Christmas because our 1944 paper quota was exhausted. Orders continued to pile up, and when the new edition was ready on January 20, we shipped 80,000 copies. We are now out of stock again, and are holding orders for 50,000 more copies, which will be filled at the end of February.

If your bookseller is out of stock at the moment, *we advise you to place an order with him now*, to be filled out of his next shipment from us. We are supplying him as rapidly as we can, and as long as our 1945 paper quota holds out. $3.00

362,736 copies sold
exclusive of BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB

HENRY HOLT & COMPANY
257 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK 10

Samuel Guy Inman

Author of the article, "Catholics and Latin America," in this issue and eminent authority on Latin-American affairs will report the

Mexico City Conference

in an early issue of

The New Republic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it is only in essays written for Haldeman-Julius that Dr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. Most standard publishers are afraid to issue works that are frowned on by the orthodox and conventional. Such a restriction is never encountered in the editorial department of the H-J Publications. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

THE VALUE OF FREE THOUGHT. How to Become a Truth-Seeker and Break the Chains of Mental Slavery. . . . . 25¢

AN OUTLINE OF INTELLECTUAL RUBBISH. A Hilarious Catalogue of Organized and Individual Stupidity. . . . . 25¢

HOW TO READ AND UNDERSTAND HISTORY. The Past as the Key to the Future. . . . . 25¢

HOW TO BECOME A PHILOSOPHER, A LOGICIAN, A MATHEMATICIAN. 30¢

WHAT CAN A FREEMAN WORSHIP? 25¢

WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN. . . 25¢

HAS RELIGION MADE USEFUL CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION? . 25¢

A LIBERAL VIEW OF DIVORCE. . 25¢

We offer all eight booklets by Bertrand Russell for only $1.45, prepaid. Ask for BERTRAND RUSSELL'S EIGHT BOOKLETS. *Address:*

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS,
Box R-94, Girard, Kansas.

WANTED TO BUY

PHONOGRAPH LANGUAGE COURSES. LANGUAGE SERVICE, 18 East 41st Street. New York 17, N. Y.

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone. Russian, Spanish, Portuguese—Direct conversational method for mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 30 RCA Bldg., New York. CI 7-0830.

LANGUAGE SERVICE, 18 East 41st St., N. Y. 17. Phonograph Courses. All makes. Also Books. All Languages. Specialty Brazil, Portugal, Spanish America. 100,000 have benefited by our Service. Booklet NR. State language.

RUSSIAN, PORTUGUESE, other phonograph courses, new, used, with easy-to-study literature. **Special Offer:** French new, $15; Spanish new, 52 lessons, $25. Alm, 475 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y. MU 3-1093.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

LIFE PATTERNS AND POTENTIALITIES accurately evaluated from handwriting. Individual analysis and report, $5. Alfred Reiss, Ph.D., 680 Forth Washington Avenue, New York City 33.

NO MATTER WHAT YOUR PROBLEM you can get help in knowing yourself — knowing your family — understanding your talent possibilities. All correspondence strictly confidential. Individual analysis with professional advice, $5. Made by member of International Association of Grapho Analysts. Send handwriting specimen to Lawrence Drew, East Wolfeboro, N. H.

MAGAZINE

AMERICAN CONTEMPORARY ART—Only progressive art magazine. Stimulating, provocative. Yearly subscription, $1.00. After March 1st, $1.50. 61-3 East 57th Street, New York City.

COLOR PRINTS

HUNDREDS OF FINE COLOR PRINTS—modern and classic at 50¢ each. Suitable frames on hand. Catalog on request. Irisam Studio, 291 Lincoln Place. Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Special Classified Rate of
THE NEW REPUBLIC
is 55c a type line (7 words) for 5 point type, and 60c a line (6 words) for 6 point type.
Minimum ad 3 lines.
Address:
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
40 East 49th Street New York 17, N. Y.

the present war. In the bewildering cross-currents of Irish politics, Mr. Phelan has kept his head and, despite the fact that he has spent fourteen years in British prisons, he sees the Nazis and the native reactionary landowners as the real enemies of the Irish peasants. As a novel it suffers severely because of sketchy characterization and a schematized plot. It is almost lacking in the rich inner life that its passionate subject matter demands, but it is still several cuts above most of this year's fiction.

THE HEADMISTRESS, by Angela Thirkell (Knopf, $2.50). This quiet, overlong and gently snobbish novel tells what comes of the Beltons' leasing Harefield Park to a girls' school and going to live in the village. It is a pleasant chronicle of events both large and small (Elsa Belton gets engaged and Heather Adams falls through the ice on a skating party), and over everything presides the wise and tranquil spirit of Miss Sparling, the headmistress. Mrs. Thirkell is at her happiest in conveying the sense of hopeless love and utter frustration in a mother's relation to her children, but she lacks the meaningful worldliness that gives the work of her avowed model and master—Trollope—its lasting significance.

SHAPE OF DANGER, by Axel Kielland (Little, Brown, $2.50). Another cops-and-robbers account of underground resistance to the Nazis, set this time in Norway. The author commands respect since he observed the German rule of his country (until he escaped to Sweden in 1942), but the effect of the ex-playboy hero's unflagging charm against a background of betrayal, torture and sudden death isn't always quite what (one hopes) the author intended.

TWO SOLITUDES, by Hugh MacLennan (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $3). A long, serious novel about two Canadian families—one *Canadien*, the other English-speaking—and what happens to them between the last war and the outbreak of the present conflict. More than a little talky, sometimes dull, it is nevertheless a solid performance by a writer of promise.

Contributors

DR. SAMUEL GUY INMAN, professor of Latin American History at Columbia and Yale Universities and former director of the refugee service of the League of Nations for Latin America, has been a United States representative to three Pan American conferences.

ALVIN H. HANSEN, Littauer Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University and adviser to the Federal Reserve Board, is the author of *Full Recovery or Stagnation*, *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*, and co-author, with Harvey S. Perloff, of *State and Local Finance in the National Economy*, published last year by W. W. Norton.

R. M. CUNNINGHAM JR. has done editorial and publicity work in the medical and hospital fields of Chicago for the past seven years. He has been an editor of *Hygeia* since 1941, and before that worked for the Blue Cross hospitalization-insurance plan.

CLARK FOREMAN is secretary of the NCPAC and president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. A graduate of the University of Georgia, he was for five years director of the Power Division of the Public Works Administration and before that was the director of Defense Housing for the Federal Works Administration.

JOE FROMM has been a writer and editor in the radio, newspaper and magazine fields for the past ten years. In 1942 he volunteered in the American Field Service and went overseas, serving with the British Eighth Army and the American Fifth Army in Italy. After being hospitalized as a result of injuries incurred overseas, he is again writing for radio and magazines and lecturing on the problems of readjustment.

GRANVILLE HICKS is the author of several books of criticism, fiction and biography, including *Figures of Transition*, a study of British literature at the end of the nineteenth century, and a new novel, *Behold Trouble*.

RICHARD WATTS JR. has been foreign correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune* in the Far East, Russia and Spain. He headed the Office of War Information in Dublin in 1942-43 and has just resigned as editor-in-chief of the same organization in China, where he spent a year. It was his sixth trip to China since 1935.

A. G. MEZERIK is an industrial consultant and social historian whose book, *Revolt of the South and West*, is to be published in the spring by Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

HENRY DAVID AIKEN, formerly instructor in Philosophy at Harvard, is now a member of the department of Philosophy at Columbia University.

RICHARD MATCH contributes reviews to the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New Republic*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED